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THE
Publications of the Prince Society.

Established May 25th, 1858.

SIR HUMFREY GYLBERTE

AND HIS ENTERPRISE OF

COLONIZATION IN AMERICA.



Boston:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY,

BY JOHN WILSON AND SON.

1903.

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY COPIES.



SIR HUMFREY GYLBERTE

AND HIS ENTERPRISE OF

COLONIZATION IN AMERICA.

INCLUDING

HIS DISCOURSE TO PROVE A NORTHWEST PASSAGE TO CATAIA;
HIS LETTERS PATENT FROM QUEEN ELIZABETH; CAPTAIN
EDWARD HAIES' NARRATIVE; AND OTHER IMPOR-
TANT PAPERS AND LETTERS, TOGETHER
WITH ANNOTATIONS
AND A

MEMOIR

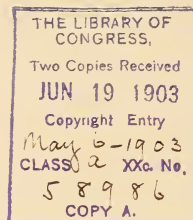
BY THE REV. CARLOS SLAFTER, A.M.

Boston:

PUBLISHED BY THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

1903.

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THE REV. CARLOS SLAFTER, A.M.



PREFATORY NOTE BY THE PRESIDENT OF
THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

THE Council have great satisfaction in presenting to the Members of the Prince Society another monograph on the early attempts to plant an English colony on the Continent of America. Our three monographs in this line of historical study have not been issued in chronological sequence. This volume is the first in the order of time. The Editor, in his Memoir, has justly intimated that a long process of experiment, of trials and failures, was necessary for the achievement of final success in colonization.

The period from the discovery of our northern coast by John Cabot in 1497 to the planting of our earliest permanent colony in Virginia in 1607 covers one hundred and ten years. During this period the capitalists and men interested in colonial enterprise were not idle. Profound study was given to the subject in all its relations and possibilities. Plans were often formulated, considered, and abandoned. Schemes, from time to time, were entered upon and finally allowed to dwindle and pass away.

The

The three most promising of these undertakings have been set forth in the form of monographs in our publications. The first has been delineated in the present volume, the enterprise of Sir Humphrey Gylberte. The second relates to Sir Walter Raleigh and his vast and baseless project of planting a colony in North Carolina. The last, in order of time, is that of Sir William Alexander and his ingenious and somewhat utopian scheme of a colony in Nova Scotia. While the undertaking of Alexander was a few years later than the establishment of our Plymouth Colony in Massachusetts Bay, it nevertheless derived its inspiration from the pre-colonial period. It did not, and could not, avail itself of any experience of successful English colonial planting on American soil.

A careful study by the general historian of these three monographs will enable him to comprehend and treat this period more intelligently, more fully, and more truthfully than has been done in the past. They develop plainly the causes of failure, and suggest more or less clearly the conditions of success. These enterprises involved a large but necessary expenditure of time, of treasure, and of precious lives, without immediate or adequate fruitage. Nevertheless, this pre-colonial period furnishes an interesting and valuable chapter in the history of the American Continent. I think I am authorized in saying that it is a distinct satisfaction to the members of the Prince Society that they have been able to furnish the means of this important study.

The original historical material, which is the basis of the present volume, divides itself into two distinct groups.

The first includes the papers and documents contained in the third volume of Richard Hakluyt's voyages, reprinted in

1809-1812,

1809-1812, and edited by Mr. George Woodfall, of London, in five superb folios. Richard Hakluyt was a contemporary and friend of Sir Humfrey Gylberte. After the tragic ending of Sir Humfrey's expedition of 1583, Mr. Hakluyt collected together and published the narratives of the survivors, with other related papers, and they are clearly authentic and trustworthy.

The second group includes some thirty-five letters, papers, and other documents, copied at the expense of the Prince Society, from the original manuscripts in the State Paper Office in London, now for the first time published. They are various in character, and elucidate the extraordinary career of Sir Humfrey Gylberte in all its singular and various phases. They cover in this volume one hundred and ten pages.

It is proper to state that the Memoir of Gylberte in this work is the only complete one ever published, and that it brings to light many new and interesting points in his character and career.

EDMUND F. SLAFTER,

PRESIDENT OF THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

BOSTON, 249 BERKELEY STREET,
April, 1903.



PREFACE.

THIS volume relates to the dawn of English Colonization. The brief Memoir will introduce to the readers the man whose ingenious speculations and earnest endeavors directed the most enterprising minds of England to the unexplored regions of North America. His elaborate Discourse, to prove the existence of a Northwest Passage to China, is a choice example of the scientific writing of an unscientific age. The Letters Patent, granted to him by Queen Elizabeth, show with what facility the sovereigns of her time gave away lands which they did not possess. The quaint Narrative of Captain Edward Haies can never lose its interest as a prose epic of the sea. The other papers which complete the bulk of the work, many of them copied from the English Archives and never before printed, will serve as side-lights to reveal the circumstances amid which Sir Humfrey Gylberte, the bold pioneer of English Colonization, made his way to practical failure and permanent fame.

C. S.

DEDHAM, MASSACHUSETTS,
April, 1903.



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MEMOIR.

QUR curiosity is never more agreeably exercised than in tracing the events of a human life. Our interest in any great achievement culminates in the personal history of the chief actors. Hence every man who has made a respectable figure in the world seems to deserve some appropriate memorial. The lapse of time and the consequent loss of authentic information may render a full biography impossible; in such instances the less complete memoir may take its place.

It is evident that the prime object of a personal memoir should be to furnish the reader with a correct view of human character and desert. However brief the record, it should reveal to us the spirit and motives of the subject. To construct such a record would seem to require accurate and adequate knowledge, clear discernment, and a happy exercise of justice and charity.

The times in which men have lived often palliate a course of action which in our day would be inexcusable. Historic personages,

personages, therefore, should be judged with due regard to the light which shone upon their pathway. The prevailing customs and beliefs of their age often excuse, and sometimes almost justify, erroneous principles and practices. The standard of morality and justice, even among civilized and christian nations, varies from age to age. The present is not generally a fair criterion of the distant past. We cannot with justice censure any man for not being in advance of his age. It is enough that he compare favorably with his countrymen and contemporaries.

A proper respect for these obvious truths will prepare us to enter upon the study of Sir Humfrey Gylberte's¹ character and career. Unfortunately, we shall be obliged to collect our scant material from many and miscellaneous sources. We shall be chiefly dependent on the glimpses we get of him, as he appears on the stage of England's history. The parts he acted were not the leading ones; and yet we find him an interesting personality. He was sufficiently original in character to be a notable figure, though seldom the most prominent.

Greenway, an ancient country seat of the Gylbertes of Devonshire, about three miles above Dartmouth and on the opposite, or eastern, side of the estuary of the river Dart, was his birthplace. The Gylberte mansion commanded a near prospect of the shipping, abundant at that day, constantly passing between Totness at the head of tide navigation and the deep and spacious roadstead of Dartmouth. The rushing tide twice a day washed the base of the woody slopes
of

¹ We follow this spelling of the name out of respect to the one who bore it, as the highest authority to be consulted. His signature, in all his numerous letters in the English Archives printed in this work, is uniformly Humfrey Gylberte.

of his ancestral home. Thus Neptune may be said to have received this infant upon his outstretched arms. The child soon became as much at home on the waters of Dartmouth harbor and Tor Bay as in the groves of Greenway, or in its

“Meadows trim with daisies pied.”

Many of his kinsmen owned ships, or commanded them; and it was therefore quite natural that he should at an early age give his thoughts to the art of navigation. His boyish eyes must have often danced to see the waters of the hill-environed, chain-protected harbor all afoam with the keels, into which the awakening commerce of England was rapidly transforming the oaks of the Dartmoor forests. No wonder he loved the sea, and in his last hours felt no repugnance to that road heavenward, — “*Sic itur ad astra.*”

Born in 1639,¹ the first eight years of his life fell in the reign of that sturdy king, Henry VIII., the chief force of whose royal prerogative had been exerted in wrenching the spiritual interests of England from the hands of the papal hierarchy. Humfrey was the second of three sons of Otho Gylberte and his wife Catherine, the daughter of Sir Philip Champernowne. Otho Gylberte died at the age of thirty-one, and soon after that event the mother of his three sons was married to Mr. Walter Raleigh. She bore him two sons, Carew and Walter; the latter, thirteen years younger than Humfrey Gylberte, is well known to fame and needs no further mention.

The alliances of Humfrey's parents with the Carews,
Champernownes,

¹ The exact date of his birth does not appear in any records we have been able to consult.

Champernownes, and other influential and intensely protestant families must have given a strong bias to his budding religious sentiments. The fiery atmosphere of religious persecution and the hot resistance engendered thereby doubtless withered and feared his more delicate sensibilities, and imparted to his character a sterner quality. Charity and tolerance had not then taken root in the English heart; or, if they had, their fruitage, and even their bloom, were impossible under the harsh demands for religious conformity. Papist, protestant, and puritan ruled in turn with the same intolerant hand.

Humfrey Gylberte was a protestant, born, baptized, and confirmed in that strenuous faith, from which he was never to swerve one hair's breadth. The conversation which the young Gylbertes heard in their Greenway home, we may be sure, was chiefly on topics of public concern and serious import. Assuming, as is reasonable, that Humfrey was a boy of more than average mental powers, and withal possessed of a lively imagination, we cannot doubt that the stories of Spanish discovery, colonization, and gold mines awakened in him an earnest longing for adventures and did much to make him the enthusiastic visionary he continued to be to the end of his busy life.

It is said in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* that Mrs. Kate Ashley, the governess and trusted adviser of the Princess Elizabeth, was a Champernowne, and a near relative of the young Gylbertes. If so, it is not unreasonable to suppose that they heard from this lady's lips glowing accounts of her royal pupil. It is not improbable that the young Gylbertes and Raleighs were on speaking terms with the
Princess

Princess Elizabeth ; and hence, even in childhood, acquired that admiration for her which afterwards ripened into supreme loyalty and devotion to the Queen. This may also account for the many special favors they received from her majesty, and may also explain their rapid advancement in her service.

The six years of King Edward's reign, perhaps we should say of the Protectorate, gave the protestant families of Devonshire a season of comparative rest. But, as the young sovereign was of a weakly constitution, and hence was liable at any time to be succeeded by a queen of Spanish descent and Roman Catholic religion, there must have been among zealous protestants some well-grounded anxiety as to the uncertain future.

When King Edward VI. died at the age of sixteen, Humfrey Gylberte was two years his junior, but yet old enough to feel the change. Indeed, he soon had special reasons to note the new order of affairs. His family, now having Mr. Walter Raleigh for its head, barely escaped the vortex of a conspiracy, which was managed in Devonshire by Sir Peter Carew, a cousin of the gifted mother. Sir Peter was so ultra-protestant, so indiscreet, and so impulsive that he precipitated his part of an extensive plot against the Catholic Queen and her contemplated Spanish nuptials.

This premature rising in Devonshire was promptly suppressed ; and when, a little later, Sir Peter Carew found that, if he desired to keep his head safe on his shoulders, it would be necessary to escape into France, Mr. Walter Raleigh sailed out of Dartmouth and brought around to Weymouth harbor the good ship which carried Sir Peter safely across the Eng-
lish

lish Channel. Thus Mr. Raleigh, the stepfather of the young Gylbertes, came very near being a participant in the incipient rebellion. There is, however, not much doubt that, had the movement shown vigor enough to make success probable, the protestants of Devonshire, Carews, Champernownes, Raleighs, and all, would have given it their earnest and open support.

But such an event was not without its effect upon the protestantism of the Gylbertes, Raleighs, and their coreligionists; it taught them the necessity of caution and moderation. During the remainder of Mary's reign, they bore quietly, if not patiently, the disabilities and privations which she imposed. They did not court martyrdom: they bode their time, and were content to secure at any honorable sacrifice the safety of the Princess Elizabeth, in whom all the hopes of protestantism in England then centred.

The schooling of Humfrey Gylberte, doubtless, began early. It is said that his father designed him for the law. As his father died at thirty-one, when this son was only eight years of age, he must have seen in his child some early signs of promise. The boy was accordingly sent to Eton. That was the school most patronized by the nobility and gentry. The associations of the place would favor his ambition, its privileges would develop his talents. He was there probably when Mary came to the throne. He was fourteen years old at her succession, and that age would be quite too late for a promising lad to be entering upon his preparation for the university.

It is not easy to determine whether young Gylberte was a foundation scholar, that is, one of those living in the college and wholly supported by it; or an oppidan, one living outside

sided at his own expense, and only receiving instruction in the school. We are inclined to think he was on the foundation, placed there soon after his father's death. If he was, we may get a glimpse of the life he led there from an old document referred to by Howard Stanton in his work entitled *The Great Schools of England*.

From this account of the arrangements of the Eton School about the middle of the sixteenth century, on the twenty-first page of that work, we quote as follows: "The boys on the foundation were called at five in the morning by one of the praepostors of the chamber, who at that hour in a loud voice cried out, 'Surgite.' While dressing themselves and making their beds, the boys repeated a prayer in alternate verses. Each boy swept that part of the dormitory about his bed, and the praepostor chose four boys to collect the dirt into a heap and remove it. The whole of the boys then went in a row to wash, and afterwards repaired to the school. At six o'clock the under-master entered the school and read prayers. The praepostors took down the names of absentees, and one praepostor's special duty was to examine the scholars' hands and faces and report any who were unwashed. The head-master made his appearance at seven o'clock, and the work of tuition began. The boys had dinner at 11 A.M. and supper at 7 P.M.; except on particular occasions, these appear to have been the only meals. Great attention was paid to Latin composition, both in prose and verse; and the practice of conversing in Latin was assiduously cultivated. Friday was flogging day."

The full significance of Friday's ceremonies may be best learned from an example. A few years before Gylberte's
time

time, the experience of Thomas Tuffer,¹ one of England's early poets, is thus described in his own quaint verse:

"From Paul's² I went, to Eton sent,
To learn straightways the Latin phraze,
When fifty-three stripes given to me
At once I had:
For fault but small, or none at all,
It came to pass, thus beat I was.

"See, Udall,³ fee, the mercy of thee
To me, poor lad."

The Duke of Wellington, on revisiting this college of his youth, declared that it was at Eton he acquired the lessons which enabled him to conquer at Waterloo. Whether he referred to the Friday lessons or not, the Iron Duke did not say; but that he showed himself while at Eton able to stand up squarely in a fight is well authenticated. Young Gylberte was no doubt, likewise, in a good degree prepared for his future career by his training at Eton.

But

¹ Thomas Tuffer, 1524-1580, was the author of *Hundreth Good Pointes of Husbandrie*, 1557. Sir Walter Scott says of it: "There is nowhere to be found evidence of such rigid and minute attention to every department of Domestic economy." Fuller, in his *Worthies of England*, says of Tuffer, "This stone of Sisyphus could gather no moss: none being better at the theory, or worse at the practice, of husbandry." The following epigram appeared in 1612:

Tuffer they tell me when thou wert alive
Thou, teaching thrift, thyself couldst never
thrive;
So, like the whetstone, many men are wont
To sharpen others when themselves are
blunt.

² "From Paul's I went": Tuffer, before going to Eton, was a chorister boy under John Redford in St. Paul's Cathedral, about 1535.

³ Nicholas Udall, 1504-1556, was master of Eton School, 1534-1543, where he was noted as a disciplinarian. He wrote plays in Latin and English to be performed by his pupils. One of these plays, *Ralph Roister Doister*, is the Earliest English Comedy known to be extant. It was published in 1565, but was not known to be preserved till a copy of it was discovered in 1818. Several editions of it have been printed, the last in *Dodley's Old Plays*, Edited by William Carew Hazlitt, 1874.

But in due time he left this school qualified to continue his education at Oxford, a promotion won by proficiency. When he entered the University of Oxford, and how long he studied there, it is not possible to determine.¹ In the reign of Queen Mary, Oxford was not a place where protestants would enjoy a residence. It would not enliven their studies to associate them with the burning of bishops; and we have reason to believe that Humfrey Gylberte was not there to witness the agonies of Latimer and Ridley in 1555, or of Cranmer in 1556.

In February, 1582-83, in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, Gylberte mentioned his "twenty-eight years in her majestys service;" and in another letter written in 1581 he alluded to his twenty-seven years service, and near the end of the same letter he says that "Her Ma^{tie} did never yet denye me anye thinge that I ever asked" and closes by saying that he had "served her highness from a boye, to the age of white heeres." Now, assuming that he wrote deliberately and truly, it would seem that he entered Elizabeth's service in 1554,² presumably in his sixteenth year, and four years before she ascended the throne. In what capacity he served the Princess, no records reveal. During these years she had an establishment of her own at Hatfield, where her household was not a very small one. Even when she was a prisoner in the Tower, her household was not broken up. All its members had remained faithful and loyal till she returned home to resume the studies to which Roger Ascham had given her the classic keys.

If

¹ The name of Sir Humfrey Gylberte is in the Oxford Catalogue, but no date of his entering or leaving.

² Doubtless young Gylberte was received into the service of the Princess through the influence of Mrs. Ashley, her governess and trusted adviser.

If Gylberte's statement be accepted, he was in her service during the four eventful years next preceding her coronation. It is easy to imagine his solicitude for her safety when every opportunity was improved by her sovereign and the high officials of Church and State, to involve Elizabeth in the plots constantly meditated, and occasionally breaking out, against Mary's government.

But Elizabeth was uniformly cautious and discreet; and that she had around her devoted and trusty servants who could not be induced to betray her confidence, doubtless contributed not a little to her comfort and security. As they saw the fires of persecution flaming up on every side, what deep, though silent, indignations must have pervaded their daily life! Yet they made no sign. The crafty wiles of those who were seeking the life of the Princess found not the slightest ground for accusation. The Tower closed its strong gates upon Elizabeth; but the English people caused them to be opened again: their admiration of the Princess had been too often and too openly expressed to be misunderstood. The burning of an archbishop and two bishops at Oxford was enough for the people of England to bear. Any attempt upon the life of the Princess Elizabeth would have released the pent up fires of their just resentment, and England would have become the theatre of a terrible tragedy. We can hardly imagine the anxiety of those around the Princess, including the subject of this memoir, as they watched the progress of threatening events. Had there been an Evelyn or Pepys among them to note the daily occurrences of those years, the record would be of absorbing interest.

The

The position of Humfrey Gylberte in Elizabeth's service previous to 1563, as has been intimated, is quite uncertain. But when she decided to occupy and retain Havre against the united factions of the French monarchy under Condé and Montmorency, because she deemed Havre a full equivalent for the loss of Calais, she directed Warwick to defend and strengthen that place with a garrison of nearly seven thousand men. Among them was Humfrey Gylberte, holding probably a lieutenant's commission, and having doubtless enlisted to aid the protestant faction against the Duke of Guise.

During the persistent attempts to capture Havre the defenders were reduced by the arms of the assailants and the more destructive havoc of the plague to barely fifteen hundred men fit for duty.

Gylberte was wounded on the 26th of September, 1563; how severely, we cannot say: but we can affirm that it was not by a minie ball propelled by smokeless powder: bows, pikes and matchlocks were then the chief weapons of assault.

Warwick, having the fate of the garrison of Rouen¹ fresh in mind, was more than willing to capitulate² with the privilege of withdrawing the small remnant of his forces. Probably not more than a thousand of them returned to England; but they carried with them the direful plague,³ which

¹ Rouen. Some English from Havre set out to relieve Rouen. A few managed to get within the walls. The town was taken by the Roman Catholics, Oct. 25, 1562, and eight days were devoted to plunder. It is needless to say that Guise hung every protestant he could find. Here the King of Navarre was killed.

² Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, capitulated at Havre July 29, 1563. He was known as Good Lord Warwick and was very friendly to the Puritans.

Vide Biographia Britannica. Edited by Andrew Kippis.

³ For a description of the plague see Hecker's *Epidemics of the Middle Ages*, London, 1846.

which is said to have claimed within a year twenty thousand victims in London alone.

This was not such a campaign as would encourage most young soldiers; but it was in the service of the popular young Queen, and in its inception had a decided tinge of protestantism; and this had attracted many young Englishmen, and before Condé and Coligny had entered into a compact with Montmorency and the Queen Regent, had drawn many into this war as volunteers. But to hold Havre for Queen Elizabeth was in the line of his loyal duty, and Gylberte endured his wounds and faced the dangers of the plague without a murmur. He was then twenty-four years old, and had tasted some of the most bitter draughts of Government service, apparently with the effect of sharpening his appetite for more. We may therefore expect him to improve the first opportunity for renewing his efforts in behalf of struggling protestantism.

But at this time the science of geography was rapidly enlarging; and Humfrey Gylberte, who had made it the recreation of his leisure hours, was eager to share the honor and profit of new discoveries. By his study of maps, travels, and voyages he learned all that had been accomplished towards bringing a knowledge of the world within the grasp of the human mind. Relatively, a very small part of the earth's surface was well known. The best maps of his time revealed an immense area of terra incognita.

This aroused his curiosity and love of adventure. He dreamed of wealth in the unknown lands equalling, or even surpassing, that which was enriching the Spanish merchants and monarchs. Though more of a soldier than seaman in experience,

experience, he nevertheless indulged in large plans and projects of discovery and exploitation in the unexplored regions of America. His schemes were most ambitious for himself and his brothers; and in 1566 he petitioned the Queen, as if she were his personal friend, for ample privileges and immense powers as a discoverer and occupant of a northwest passage to Cataia and other eastern parts of the World. The first two papers, copied from the English Archives, and found in another part of this work, viz. the petition and the proposals of Humfrey to Queen Elizabeth, will give the reader full information of his grand project. But we may note here that he first proposed to accomplish his design without asking any pecuniary aid from the Queen, a consideration quite necessary to secure the attention of her frugal mind; at the same time he pictures the glorious results of his success in enriching her kingdom and extending her fame. He asks for himself and his heirs a monopoly of the passage he should discover, and that it should be perpetually under his control, and that the ships and goods of those who attempted the passage without his permission should be confiscated to his use. He likewise asks for himself and his two brothers, presumably John and Adrian, and their descendants the perpetual use of that undiscovered passage; finally he solicits for himself the use for nineteen years of one fifth part of the customs on merchandise returned by means of this discovery.

It is very evident that Mr. Gylberte did not forget his private interests while planning for the glory of England and his sovereign. His thrift did not make him less the favorite of Queen Elizabeth. If she had granted his petition,

tion, and a passage to Cataia had been opened according to his hopes, the Gylberte brothers would have been the envy of all England. But the Queen's answer to this modest request is not to be found; and the proposals of Gylberte, made in 1567, for undertaking this voyage of discovery are modified in many particulars. A corporation for the discovering of new avenues of trade seems to have been established by Parliament, and as a member of this company Gylberte makes his request and proposals. He now asks for two of the Queen's ships for the first four voyages; also seeks the governorship of all lands discovered in these voyages. We can hardly imagine the wealth which his fancied success in this enterprise would have brought to the adventurer and his kindred. They were golden dreams, but their effect upon the thrifty queen has never been recorded. Years of severe trial were to pass before he would be permitted to try his fortune in unknown seas; but the bright visions of his imaginative and hopeful nature regained their ascendancy whenever there was a break in his military service.

On the soil of Ireland the contest between Papists and Protestants was vindictive and long continued. It would be out of place here to enter upon a full account of it. It will be sufficient to say that the effort to make Ireland a protestant country was persistent and earnest.

In the latter part of the year 1566, Humfrey Gylberte was a captain under Sir Henry Sidney in his military operations in Ireland against the famous Shane O'Neil. After the destruction of Shane, the defeat of the Geraldines, and the relinquishment of lands by the Earl of Desmond, there were
large

large areas of forfeited territory at the Queen's disposal, and their occupancy on an extensive scale by military colonies was seriously considered. But it was found that this would require an expenditure of more money than the thrifty Queen found it convenient to supply.

Another plan was accordingly formed, whereby a number of gentlemen, including Gylbertes, Chichesters, Carews, Grenvilles and Courtneys, twenty-seven in all, proposed to relieve the Queen of all expense by taking possession of a large part of Munster at their own cost, and bringing the native Irish into subjection, or driving them out of the province. It was an extensive plan; and, while the government hesitated, Sir Peter Carew, accompanied by Gylberte and a military retinue, went over to Munster, to examine their claims,¹ carrying with them the parchments which they relied on as titles to the forfeited estates. Deeming possession the best support of a title, Carew laid hold of some estates near Cork, belonging to the Earl of Ormond, a favorite of Queen Elizabeth. Hostilities promptly followed; and in a few weeks all Ireland was aroused by exciting rumors of what was intended. As a natural result, all united to resist this indiscriminate seizure of their lands.

Sir Henry Sidney, however, declared them all rebels, and mustering what forces he could, Humfrey Gylberte meantime holding a command under him, made a vigorous campaign from Cork in the direction of Limerick, stormed several strongholds, and put every man to death whom he caught in arms. He left five hundred men under Gylberte, to guard
Kilmallock,

¹ Sir Peter Carew's title of lands in Ireland rested upon a Grant by Henry III. *Vide, State Papers, Ireland, Vol. XXXIII. No. 52.*
II., and Rolls of Edwards I., II., and

Kilmallock, since it was deserving of severer treatment, because it had opened its gates to receive a force of rebels. Colonel Gylberte had orders "to tread out the sparks of the fire which Sidney had beaten down."

His authority extended over Cork beyond the Pale,¹ Kerry, and Limerick. At the end of two months Gylberte made a report of his doings. He claimed to have established permanent quiet and obedience. He declared that Kerry was so quiet that "he had but to send his horse-boy for any man, and he would come." Of his methods let him speak for himself in the following words of his report: "My manner of dealing was to show them all that they had more need of her majesty than she of their service: neither yet that we were afraid of any number of them, our quarrel being so good. I slew all those from time to time that did belong to, feed, accompany or maintain any outlaws or traitors: and after my first summoning of any castle or fort, if they would not presently yield it, I would not afterwards take it of their gift, but won it perforce, how many lives so ever it cost, putting man, woman, and child of them to the sword. Neither did I spare any malefactor unexecuted that came to my hands in any respect: using all those that I had protected with all courtesy and friendship that I might; being for my part constantly of this opinion, that no conquered nation will ever yield willingly their obedience for love, but rather for fear."

We could almost wish that Colonel Gylberte had never left this frank and self-convicting record; but, as he did leave it, it would not be honest to ignore it. At the date of Gylberte's
fway

¹ *Vide Sir Humfrey Gylberte's Discourse on Ireland. Papers from English Archives in this work.* "The V^t. parte of Ireland onely inhabited by the English men, or subject to England, called the English pale."

sway in Munster, English youths were often roused to patriotic zeal by tales of Spanish atrocities in the Netherlands; but there is no claim, so far as we know, that Alva's bloody sword ever touched defenceless age, women, or children.

And yet Gylberte was not a wicked man according to the standard of his age. He was regarded by his contemporaries as a brave and chivalrous gentleman. In this very Irish service, he displayed a wonderful and truly beneficent courage.¹ Single-handed he held a ford near Kilmallock against a company of horsemen in order to cover the passage of his friends. Indeed, his severity received high official approval, and no word of blame is recorded. In writing of him to Cecil, the Queen's prime minister, the accomplished gentleman, Sir Henry Sidney, says: "For the Colonel I cannot say enough. The highways are now made free where no man might travel unspoiled. The gates of cities and towns are now left open, where before they were continually shut or guarded with armed men. There was none that was a rebel of any force but hath submitted himself, entered into bond, and delivered hostages, the arch-rebel, James Fitzmaurice only except, who is become a bush-beggar, not having twenty knaves to follow him. And yet this is not the most nor the best that he hath done: for the estimation that he hath won to the name of Englishman there, before almost not known, exceedeth all the rest; for he in battle brake so many of them, wherein he showed how far our soldiers surpassed those rebels, and he in his own person any man he had. The name of an Englishman is more terrible now to them than the sight of a hundred
was

¹ See Capt. John Ward's letter to Cecil, in *Letters from English Archives* in this work.

was before. For all this I had nothing to present him with but the honor of Knighthood, which I gave him:¹ for the rest, I recommend him to your friendly report."²

We might well suppose that so delightful a state of affairs in Munster would be carefully maintained, every consideration seeming to demand it; but public policy determined otherwise. Not long after his effective rule at Kilmallock had been established, Gylberte was called away to England; and in a few weeks the only visible results of his efforts in reforming Ireland were his knighthood and the burning hate which his severity had created. Fitzmaurice, the bush-beggar, was again King of Munster, and the few who had shown favor to the English had paid their penalty on the gallows. Gylberte's example had been followed, and even excelled in cruelty, by the vengeful Irish Lords. Retaliation, with added refinements of torture, took away all ground for complaint of his atrocity.

And here it is interesting to see how his services were regarded several years later by his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, who wrote to Sir Francis Walsingham in 1581 from Cork *literatim* as follows: "Would God the services of Sir Humfrey Gylberte might be rightly lokt into; who wth the third part of the garrisone now in Irland, ended a rebellion not miche inferior to this, in to monethes, or would god his
own

¹ Sir Henry Sydney to Sir F. Walsingham. "I constituted Captain Gylberte Commander and Colonel of all Munster. He brought James Fitz Maurice to a very base estate. So, enjoying great victory of the suppressed rebel, he came to me with great joy to Tredath, bringing with him Sundry personages of good

account. I made him knight Jan. 1, 1570. After Sir Humfrey Gylbert's departure to England, the rebel got force again until Sir John Parott was sent to be Lord President of Munster." — *State Papers, Carew*, Vol. DCI., p. 89.

² *Vide Sidney to Cecil, Jan. 4, 1570, MSS. Ireland.*

own behavior¹ were suche in peace as it did not make his good service forgotten & hold hyme from the preform[ent] he is worthy of, I take god to witnes I speak it not for affection, but to discharge my duty to her Majesty, for I never hard nor rede of any man more fered thun he is among the Irish nacion, And I do assuredly know that the best aboat the Earle of Desmond, ye & all the unbridled traytors of thes partes wold cum in [to] hyme, & yeld themselves to the Queens mercy were it but known that he were cum amonge them. The end shall prove this to be trew."

If the Gylberte system of reform in Ireland had been followed out, it would doubtless have been effective; but the Irish as a nation would have been exterminated as the aborigines have been in America. The Queen evidently did not wish to take the responsibility for this plan of reclaiming and colonizing the sister island.

She called Gylberte home; and he soon found another field in which to defend protestantism, or rather the protestant Queen. He was chosen a member of Parliament for Plymouth in 1571. In this Parliament several questions arose which involved in some degree the royal prerogative. One of these questions related to the church services. Sir Humfrey was extreme in maintaining, on this issue, the absolute authority of his sovereign, declaring that the discussion even of any subject relating to it was outside the proper sphere of parliamentary duty, and a hazardous encroachment on the rights of the Queen.

This ultra loyalty was not acceptable to the Puritan members;

¹ Careful search has not enabled us to find what "behavior" Sir Walter alludes to as so damaging to the pre-
ferment of Sir Humfrey.

members; and one of them, the blunt Peter Wentworth, attacked him severely for misinforming the Queen in respect to a motion, as relating to her prerogative. He styled Gylberte "a flatterer, a liar, and a naughty man:" and when Gylberte attempted to explain and justify his conduct, the Commons three times refused to hear his defence.¹

We can hardly suppose his conduct had been discreet if a majority of the house were so earnest in their disapproval. This being the only incident of his parliamentary career mentioned by English historians, we may justly infer that Sir Humfrey did not attain high eminence as a statesman. Still he may have been a useful member of parliament; and we cannot suppose he would be lacking in zeal for the welfare of England, as he understood it. We can easily see that all measures relating to the improvement of her naval and commercial interests would enlist his intelligent and earnest support.

Sir Humfrey Gylberte married Anne, the daughter of Sir Anthony Ager of Kent, probably before he became a member of Parliament. She bore him five sons and a daughter.

His family residence seems not to have been permanent; for some years it was at Limehurst, but later it was in Red Cross Street, either in London or Dartmouth where he wrote the letter contained in this work.² But the quiet of home life never kept him long from the more attractive duties of her majesty's service: he always stood ready for a scene of adventure, either on the sea, or on the land.

While

¹ *Vide Dictionary of National Biography*; also *Devon Association Transactions*, Vol. XI. pp. 466-479.

² For Sir Humfrey's letter, consult Table of Contents.

While he was a member of Parliament or soon after, to honor Queen Elizabeth he planned an Academy bearing her name to be established in London. Although his design was never carried out, it remains as a direct proof of his breadth and liberality of mind. Like many of his projects it was a germ which under the fostering care of other minds and in more favorable times might spread its branches and bear valuable fruit. The Royal Society of London is regarded by some as the consummation of Sir Humfrey's ideas.

In 1572 Gylberte commanded fifteen hundred men in an expedition to the Netherlands. Historians do not give a very distinct idea of its aim. The object, not very openly avowed, was presumably to assist the protestants against the Spanish. But from the want of a clear and definite plan, and because of some misunderstandings, the earnest efforts of Colonel Gylberte were not of much avail. Very considerable hardships were endured, and no material advantage was gained. The men under his command did not, in his eyes, honor themselves or their nation by a proper display of courage; and he returned to England thoroughly disgusted at his want of success in a perilous adventure. There is reason to suppose that his character as a commander in the field suffered from the failure of this expedition, and that he was not commended by his government.

The Queen at that time was not acting an open and determined part, and seemed unwilling to give free encouragement to those who were most earnest in promoting the interests of protestantism. She did, however, retain Sir Humfrey in a most honorable position. The Queen's Letters Patent, dated

June

June 25, 1571, made him Surveyor-General of "all horfes, Armour, weapons, munitions, artillery, etc., through England during seven years thereafter," an office of great responsibility which he discharged with approved skill and fidelity.

But in this line of duty he led a quiet and what seemed to some a retired life, and his name for several years is not associated with any important public event. We will not attempt to give the specific duties of his office; but from the papers copied from the *English Archives* in this work we learn that, in addition to other functions, he was charged with important pecuniary interests and trusts.

He then resided at Limehurst and appears to have devoted his leisure to such studies as his taste and learning suggested. He freely indulged his speculative genius on various plans and devices which then claimed the attention of the more enterprising spirits. It was no discredit to him to be fond of money, for his expenditures more than kept pace with his income. Consequently we find him and Sir Thomas Smith entering into a curious speculation with one William Meadley who professed ability to transmute iron¹ into copper. At five hundred pounds per annum, they rented an estate of Lady Katherine Mountjoy where this work could be conveniently done, and one may see by the Papers copied from the *English Archives* in this work that Lord Burleigh was appealed to for advice and approval by both the lessor of the estate and the transmuter of metals. From the long letter of the alchemist Meadley it is easy to infer that Sir Humfrey

¹ "According to the Baron von Liebig, the distinguished German chemist, the great Francis Bacon, Luther, Benedict Spinosa, and Leibnitz, all believed in the philosopher's stone, and in the possibility of the transmutation of metals." *Vide Liebig's Familiar Letters on Chemistry.*

Humfrey Gylberte, so long as he was the unsuspecting dupe of false science, was easily managed; but when he discovered the cheat, he made himself very disagreeable to the self-deluded impostor. He doubtless recovered a large part of the money he so foolishly invested.

It was an age of discovery; and commercial expansion was beginning to be the favorite study of English merchants. Spanish supremacy on the sea was the great obstacle to be overcome or avoided. Gylberte entertained the belief that this difficulty might be neutralized by a Northwest Passage to Cataia and the Indies. To establish, in advance of discovery, the existence of such a passage, he in accordance with the custom of his age searched for light in the writings of the ancients. Then he supplemented this dim light of antiquity by the more or less vague beliefs and surmises of the later geographers. His treatment of the subject seems even childish when viewed in the light which modern geographical discovery and science have diffused. But his discussion of the Northwest Passage is an admirable illustration of the scientific weakness of the sixteenth century. It is a search for truth by a man blinded and misled by authority, a mode of search not wholly abandoned in this enlightened age.

Dreamy conceptions in the poetry of Greece and Rome were treated as if rooted in reality. In his own fond dream he wove together all the dreams he could find, and believed the resultant tissue a fabric of solid truth. We are not surprised to find that his ardent theorizing influenced the enterprise of his day, that it actually set on foot an expedition, to secure the advantages of his learned speculations.

In

In 1574 he was visited in his home at Limehurst by George Gascoigne, the dramatist and poet, to whom he showed his Discourse of a Discovery of a Northwest Passage to Cataia. His zealous friend gave publicity to Gylberte's theory; and it is said that, in consequence of this disclosure, Martin Frobisher received a license, bearing the date of February 5, 1575, to make the discovery of a Northwest Passage to Cataia.¹ On our modern maps a small inlet on the American coast, just north of Hudson Straits, bears the name of Frobisher's Strait. For a time this was supposed to be the coveted Northwest Passage to the Indies extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean: small fruit indeed of so much ingenious speculation and brave endeavor!!

In 1576 Gascoigne edited and published Gylberte's discourse, as some assert, without the consent of the author. Its views, harmonizing with the earnest desires of all enterprising Englishmen, were widely accepted and raised high expectations. Gylberte's name and that of Frobisher ranked in interest with those of Columbus and Vesputius; and by general assent stood ready to be attached to any lands or waters which should be made known by their combined wisdom and seamanship.

But Gylberte's hope of discoveries, in corroboration of his grand theory of the Northwest Passage to Cataia or China, did not lessen his attempts to furnish his Queen all possible aid against the power of Spain. In 1577 he set forth an elaborate discourse explaining how her majesty might annoy the king of that realm. It was a proposition to send out a large
number

¹ Cataia, sometimes written Cathaia, or Cathay, an indefinite region embracing the empire of China.

number of armed vessels under the pretence of planting colonies in America; but when a favorable opportunity was found, they should fall upon the Spanish colonies and shipping in the West Indies and gain entire possession of both. Such a transaction, when there were no open hostilities between the countries, would at the present day be regarded as nothing less than piracy. Elizabeth never heeded, nor even noticed, the advice. Probably the only effect of it was experienced by its author, when a year later he was himself in a condition to be greatly "annoyed." Certainly, if the Spanish became aware of the advice he had given to his queen, as they probably did through some of those Romanists which she persisted in retaining at her court, they would naturally seek to repay him for it.

But, if we may suppose, as some do, that for several years Sir Humfrey did not enjoy the Queen's full confidence, we may conclude that before 1578 he had in a good degree regained her favor, though we doubt whether she ever had entire faith in his ability to perform what he planned.

Elizabeth was not a visionary person, and doubtless had little confidence in the visions which Gylberte saw at Limehurst. But the subject of colonization did interest her. She had given liberally in aid of Martin Frobisher's expeditions, and had even suggested the name, *Meta Incognita*, for the lands bordering the supposed entrance to the Northwest Passage. Perhaps she even dreamed of a Virginia that should preserve the memory of her most peculiar characteristic. The colonizing of America would meet with less resistance than that of Ireland. Its vast wilds were thinly peopled by a race of men capable of but feeble resistance,

and

and who could be easily controlled and made serviceable as hunters and collectors for the fur trade.

The Queen received Sir Humfrey's petition for the privilege of founding a colony in America with evident gratification. She would have to incur no expense; and, moreover, was flattered with a prospect of considerable advantages to the commerce of her realm. The expectation of finding mineral treasures was an incentive to all such enterprises, and the frugal-minded Queen at the time indulged bright hopes in that direction. Accordingly she granted him a charter, bearing date of June eleventh, 1578, empowering him to plant a colony in America and be himself the governor, the only reservation being a fifth part of all the gold and silver found therein.

Gylberte seemed to be nearing the goal of his ambition. He now entertained the hope of establishing himself near the entrance of that Northwest passage to Cataia or China where his colony, and himself especially, would reap all the commercial advantages of his elaborate dreams. We can imagine, and in the absence of data can only imagine, the preparations he made for his darling enterprise. He invested all his means and hazarded all his reputation, and brought together what he regarded as an ample supply of men and ships for his daring purpose. Hakluyt says, in his *Voyages* Vol. III., page 186, "the preparation was expected to grow into a puissant fleet able to encounter a king's power on the sea."

Many busy months were spent in the work of organization. It was the first English colony ever projected, unless we except those futile attempts to colonize in Ireland; but it was planned without any experience, or any model. How
it

it was constituted, we cannot say; but we cannot doubt that Gylberte had a plan, and put into it his best intentions and his utmost endeavors.

Having done this, he set sail from Dartmouth, September 23, 1578. But whither? Evidently he knew not. He was to find a land to colonize. It is very hard for us to understand this peculiarity of his undertaking. His voyage was to a strange land, a long coast, whose topography and climate were utterly unknown. He doubtless fully believed the theory which he had presented in his discourse of a Northwest Passage, and hoped in some degree to verify his golden dreams. But there is no record of what course he designed to take, or what point to reach. He seldom was careful to register his aims, or unsuccessful performances, and none of his company have supplied this neglect.

All we know definitely is that his earnest endeavors ended in failure. Hakluyt says of the expedition, "it began, continued, and ended adversely." Divided counsels, broken promises, and Spanish¹ espionage and hostilities all contributed to the unfortunate result. He was not a Drake to encounter obstacles by turning them to his own advantage. How far he proceeded, whether he reached the Azores or not, is quite uncertain. That he might have accomplished more, but for his honesty and fidelity to his word of promise
to

¹ *Vide English State Papers, Spanish*, 1578, Aug. 14.

Idem, 1679, Feb. 26.

MENDOZA TO THE KING.

"I have sent a man expressly to make the voyage in Humfrey Gylbertes ships, so that, if he returns, he will give a full account of it to me.

MENDOZA TO THE KING.

"Humfrey Gylberte and Knollys have returned . . . and the man I sent with them has returned.

"London, 22^d of Feb. 1579."

"London, Aug. 14, 1578."

to her majesty, he intimates in a letter contained in this work Writing to Sir Francis Walsingham, Feb. 7, 1582, O. S., he says: "It may please you to be advertised that in my first enterprife, I returned with greater losse because I would not myselve, nor suffer any compaign to do anythinge contrarye to my worde given to her ma^{tie} and yourselve: for yf I had not farr p^rferred my credit before my gayne, I needed not to return so poore." What "gayne" he so honorably refused, it would be most gratifying to know; but that he prided himself on this self-sacrifice is plainly seen.

After a winter of uselesse effort, but where spent no one has seen fit to record, and he himself willingly buried it in oblivion, a winter also of perils and disappointment, he returned to Plymouth in May, 1579, having sunk his money and weakened his reputation and influence; but his hope and courage survived.

He believed that by this failure he had learned what was necessary to success, and was still determined to prosecute his favorite work under the queen's patent whenever he should obtain the means and a fair opportunity.

Before the expiration of the year 1579, Sir Humfrey is again on the coast of Ireland, this time with Sir John Perrot, as admiral of the Queen's ships. But this employment was not very profitable, or prolonged: for in 1581 he declared in a letter to Walsingham his utter destitution of means for a comfortable living. Still his attention was not withdrawn from his favorite projects.

He now devoted himself more earnestly to obtaining means to prosecute his scheme of colonization, and in time succeeded in finding men willing to share in the expense and

and profits of the enterprife. Sir George Peckham was his moſt earneſt coadjutor, and aided him with his wealth and by his pen, as may be ſeen in his Report which is contained in Vol. III. Hakluyt Voyages, as ſhowing the pecuniary advantages hoped for by the adventurers.¹

To make proviſion for a voyage into unknown regions, both to diſcover and to colonize, required a man of Sir Humfrey's enthuſiaſm and hopefulneſs. He thoroughly enjoyed the purſuit of viſionary ſchemes. The uncertainties that would have cauſed other men to heſitate were ſimply incentives to puſh him on. What he would need to ſuſtain a colony in a wild country and rigorous climate muſt have required careful ſtudy and ſelection.

But a far more important conſideration was the ſort of men that were to form the body of his undertaking, granting that he was a ſuitable head and was ſupported by competent and honeſt aſſiſtants. The operatives, whoſe hands, muſcles, and diſpoſition were to effect the work of the voyage and ſettlement, were of the utmoſt conſequence.

The

¹ SPANISH SUSPICION OF THE
VOYAGE.

Mendoza wrote to the King of Spain, Jan. 9, 1581: "Humfrey Gylberte who accompanied Knollys on his other voyage is to go with fix ſhips to Cuba, with the intention of fortifying himſelf on ſome convenient ſpot where he may ſally forth and attack the flotilla leaving Santa Domingo, New Spain, Peru, and other neighboring places. They are alſo preſſing Frobiſher to renew his attempts to diſcover a northweſt paſſage to Cathay and the Moluccas, which, notwithſtanding the difficulties he formerly encountered, Drake is decidedly of opinion muſt exiſt in that direction."

Alſo Mendoza wrote to the King in May 6, 1583, from London: "The Council have ſuggeſted to the Catholics to contribute a ſum of money to carry on the enterprife in Florida upon which Humfrey Gylberte has ſailed with the ſhips I deſcribed to your Maſteſty, in which caſe they promiſe to releaſe the priſoners, and will allow them to live without perſecution. As they have been warned that the expedition is an illicit one, and fear that the offer is only a trap to diſcover them, they are keeping in the back ground, although ſome few Catholics, out of indifference and penury, have gone with Gylberte, ſelling what little property was left to them for this purpoſe."

The busy days of preparation at last came to an end. The men and vessels all assembled in Causet Bay near Plymouth. It was resolved to put to sea immediately. But here the question arose, whether they should proceed at once to the Cape of Florida,¹ and, thence coasting northward, choose the most desirable place for their colony. The season being now well advanced, for it was already June, favored this plan of procedure. But other considerations induced Sir Humfrey to steer towards a northern part of the American coast. A considerable delay of sailing had been occasioned by adverse winds² and other causes; and a large part of their provisions had been consumed. To replenish this stock, they decided to sail directly to Newfoundland, where they would find many merchantmen who had resorted thither to carry supplies and obtain cargoes of fish; and when the fishing season was past, Gylberte's company would be able to obtain from them such supplies as they would have left over and be glad to dispose of, and also any needed quantity of fish. Then he could proceed southward to his place of settlement in a milder climate. Had such a plan been adhered to, it seems as if the enterprise might have been crowned by success.

Due precautions were taken to have every captain supplied with instructions to guide him in all emergencies and make the voyage safe against enemies and all possible accidents, and above all to secure the unity and harmonious movement of the fleet.

Tuesday, the eleventh of June, 1583, with "a soft gale of Winde"

¹ How differently the voyage might have resulted, had the Southern course been chosen!

² *Vide* Gylbert's Letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, p. 177.

Winde" the following ships weighed anchor and sailed out of Caufet Bay :

1. The Delight, alias The George, of 120 tons, was the Admiral, carrying Sir Humfrey Gylberte, commonly called the General, and Richard Clarke, master.

2. The Bark Raleigh, of 200 tons, owned by Walter Raleigh, stepbrother of Sir Humfrey, was Vice Admiral, Butler, captain, and Robert Davis of Bristol, master.

3. The Golden Hinde,¹ of 40 tons, was Rear Admiral, Edward Haies, captain and owner, and William Cox of Limehouse, master.

4. The Swallow, of 40 tons, had Maurice Brown as captain.

5. The Squirrell, of 10 tons, had William Andrews as captain; Cade, master.

The men of all ranks and occupations in these vessels numbered two hundred and sixty, including all the trades and callings which could aid the enterprize. Also some "solace of the people and allurements of the savages were provided for in musical instruments," "not omitting," Captain Haies says, "the leaste toyes, as Morris dancers, hobby horses, and Maylike conceits, to delight the savage people whom we intended to winn by all fair means possible. And to that ende we were indifferently provided of all petty haberdasherie wares to barter with those simple people."²

Leaving Caufet Bay with a favorable wind, the first day
of

¹ Sir Francis Drake was knighted by Queen Elizabeth on board his ship, "The Golden Hinde," at Deptford, April 4, 1581. This was the ship in which he circumnavigated the world. It was preserved many years at Dept-

ford with something akin to veneration and Captain Haies borrowed the name with a similar motive.

² It is a curious fact that not a single native of America was met in the entire voyage.

of promise was followed by a night of storm, thunder, and rain, which, however, was encountered without damage. But Thursday evening, when the vessels signalled each other according to a plan previously established, the Bark Raleigh signalled that both the captain and very many of the men were fallen sick. A few hours later this largest vessel of the fleet turned back and "arrived at Yarmouth greatly distressed." There was a report of contagious disease on board the ship; and treachery on the part of Walter Raleigh has been hinted at; but Captain Haies declares that he could never understand the reason for this return, and was sure that "no cost was spared by Mr. Walter Raleigh in setting them forth and therefore leaves it unto God."

Notwithstanding this defection of his largest vessel, Sir Humfrey did not slacken his voyage; but made the Golden Hinde his Vice Admiral, and proceeded along the forty-eighth parallel of latitude towards the American coast. But soon the weather became inclement, and from the fifteenth to the twenty-fifth of June, fogs, rain, and northwest winds prevailed. They made slow progress and were driven several degrees south of the latitude they desired to maintain. They were obliged to make long courses southwest, and then northwest; thus the voyage was painfully protracted, and finally the members of the fleet became scattered; and the Swallow and Squirrel disappeared. On the 27th of July, in latitude 50°, they saw immense icebergs crossing their track southward, thus revealing a strong ocean current from the north.

On the thirtieth of July, seven weeks after leaving the coast of England, supposed to be in latitude 51°, they found themselves

themselves befogged in a large bay, perhaps White Bay, or Notre Dame, where they were surrounded by hideous rocks and mountains "bearing no trees and void of any green vegetation." This description of scenery indicates Labrador. Then they turned back and coasted south, favored by fair wind and weather, till they came into Conception Bay, entering between the island called Baccalaos¹ and Cape St. Francis. Here occurred an event of peculiar interest.

The Swallow, which had some days before been lost in the fog, now reappeared; and her crew were all in new and strange apparel. And, what was still more wonderful, they were so abundantly supplied, says Captain Haies, "that for joy and congratulations of our meeting, they spared not to cast up into the air and overboard their caps and hats in good plenty."

The cause of this novel display is very quaintly explained by Captain Haies in his Narrative; but we take the liberty of giving here a brief and simple account of it, to show how some of Sir Humfrey's forces were obtained. Soon after the Swallow was separated from the rest of the fleet, it fell in with the bark Newlander, now on its return from a successful fishing voyage. The crew of the Swallow obtained from their Captain, Maurice Browne, permission to go on board the fisherman, to procure, presumably by purchase, a supply of provisions. But as soon as they were once on board of her, they proceeded to rob and spoil her of tackle, sails, cables, victuals, and the men of their apparel. To make the fishermen disclose any concealed valuables, they
put

¹ Baccalaos, a small island northeast of Newfoundland. Sometimes the name is applied to Newfoundland itself.

put them to torture by twisting cords about their heads. When they had completed their plundering and were hastening into their cock-boat, it was overturned; and a few of the wretches were drowned: but most of them were rescued by the simple souls whom they had maltreated and robbed. This act of piracy gave Captain Haies occasion also to relate that the Swallow was originally a pirate craft, captured in the narrow seas about England just after the crew had seized two French barques, one laden with wine, the other with salt. The English authorities rescued and restored the two vessels to their owners; but the pirate craft "man of war," Haies styles it, and its predatory crew, were attached to Sir Humfrey's fleet. The vessel's name was changed, but the nature of its crew was not; and as soon as an opportunity was given, they reverted to their former practice of spoil and plunder, from which Captain Brown had no power of restraint. That this diabolical outrage received no punishment or special attention from human authority is too evident, and shows the weakness of the government maintained over the men in the fleet. It was a sign of what would work the final ruin of the expedition, for a fleet, so composed and so loosely governed, could not be expected, in the face of hardship and danger, to remain under steady control. How the poor Newlander, thus deprived and dismantled, was able to complete her voyage of over two thousand miles, Captain Haies appropriately says: "God alone knoweth." I also find no indication of even the slightest human effort made to repair the loss she had suffered. It was doubtless left to the same divine power to punish those who had plundered them; and
we

we are pleased to learn that Captain Haies had the comfort of seeing retribution not long delayed.

The tolerance of such conduct indicates the imperfect civilization of the sixteenth century, especially among seafaring men. The spirit of the Vikings survived on the sea. Courage was prone to become lawlessness, and in the absence of superior authority, boldness degenerated into savagery and crime.

The doctrine that a Christian king in Europe could authorize his subjects to invade, conquer, and by force of arms introduce the gospel into any heathen country, was on a level with the morality of the Scandinavian Sea Rovers. The treatment of Montezuma did not seem to offend the English conscience of Gylberte's time. Those who professed to offer the flesh and blood of Christ a daily sacrifice on the altars of their cathedrals ought not to have been so greatly offended by the offering up of an occasional human victim for the sins of the Mexican or Peruvian people. Certainly they were not more cruel than Abraham was willing to be, at the supposed behest of the Almighty.

With what gusto does Sir George Peckham recount the success of the Spanish adventurers under Francisco Pizarro, who by treachery took the aged Peruvian monarch prisoner as if "through the aide of the Almighty"¹ he secured his victim; and after extorting from his people an unheard of amount of gold and silver as a ransom, found a pretence for putting him to death, regardless of his solemn promise to protect him. But this is a digression: let us return.

After

¹ *Vide* Peckham's Report, Hakluyt, Vol. III.

After the Swallow rejoined the fleet with her stolen supplies of various kinds, thus replenished, they proceeded southward and soon found the Squirrel at anchor outside of the harbor of St. John's, Newfoundland. The English and other ships in the harbor would not allow the Squirrel to enter. Had they heard of the piratical performance of the Swallow? No other explanation of their refusal is necessary. So Sir Humfrey's collected squadron had before them the unpleasant prospect of being obliged to make a forcible entry. The General, seeing the ships in the harbor were too numerous to be harshly treated, sent messengers to them announcing his peaceful intentions, but, apparently without waiting for an answer, prepared to sail in through their midst. This seems to have been done hurriedly and somewhat carelessly, for though they prepared their "fights" to cope with any resistance, the Delight, the Admiral of the fleet, ran aground upon a rock in the narrow entrance to the port. But the English merchantmen showed great friendliness by sending boats to tow the Admiral out of this danger. Sir Humfrey at once communicated with the temporary Admiral of the port, and when the principal captains of the merchantmen had assembled on the Delight, he exhibited to them his commission and announced his intention to take possession of the country in the Queen's name. His authority was promptly recognized by the English captains, and the others could of course make no resistance, even if they questioned his right to command. Still desiring to proceed southward as soon as possible, he aimed at a prompt dispatch of his business and conciliated the merchants by offering them all such favors as could be reasonably

reasonably granted; and very soon entire harmony and content appeared to be established.

The condition of his fleet made some aid necessary, and he proposed to the merchantmen, if they furnished it readily to grant them in return valuable privileges, such as later on would be much more costly. With many generous promises of good service the merchants and masters took their leave of Sir Humfrey, and ordered all the great guns of their fleet to be discharged, as a token of welcome to the new governor. This propitious beginning was made on Saturday the third of August, 1583; and we may be sure that Sir Humfrey Gylberte retired to rest that night a truly happy man.

But government is always attended by the inconvenience of taxation. Each of Sir Humfrey's ships reported its wants to the merchants and masters; then all the ships, as well the English as strangers, including French, Biscayans, and Portugals, were taxed "at an easie rate to make supplie." Collectors were also appointed to go into other harbors near, "to levie for this same supplie." In response to the levy the Portugals were the most generous, and sent, in addition to the levy, "presents of *wine*, Marmalads, most fine rusk, or bisket, sweet oyles, and fundrie delicacies," also liberal presents of salmon, trout, lobsters, and other fish were brought daily to Sir Humfrey's vessels. Every week, too, there was a feast at the expense of the Temporary Admiral¹ of the harbor, where Gylberte and all his captains were entertained most bountifully. After their long voyage and
spare

¹ A captain or merchant was chosen from time to time for short terms to exercise chief authority.

spare living this abundance of good cheer was highly appreciated: and the more, says Captain Haies, because it was so unexpected. But let us return to the daily progress of events.

Sunday, the fourth of August, the General and his Captains accompanied the English merchants on their customary walk to a place called the Gardens, where they found a profusion of "wild odoriferous roses" to delight the eye and an abundance of native "raspis berries" to satisfy the taste. In fact, these flowers and fruits were in plenty everywhere, to the great delight, as we may well imagine, of the sea-worn mariners.

The day suggests the question, whether any religious service was held on this first Sunday ashore. While none is mentioned we can hardly suppose it would be omitted by the devout Sir Humfrey and his followers. It would also seem very appropriate that the crew of the *Swallow* should make humble confession of their recent iniquities and, if possible, receive absolution after due penance had been appointed and paid. Can we imagine their attending service in their new attire obtained from the fishermen from whom they extorted humble confession as to their secreted clothing by the painful pressure of closely twisted ropes? Surely the religion of that age admitted of strange possibilities.

It has been stated that Sir Humfrey was so delighted with the place and his first Sunday on shore, that he unwisely decided to make St. John's the centre of his colony. The steps he immediately took, indicate as much: and yet, it is almost certain that he did not intend, or expect, to spend his

his first winter there. He desired a milder climate, and his purpose to hasten southward allowed no delay in establishing his authority over this centre of the fishing interests. It cannot be denied, however, that his course of action and the loss of all his papers leave it quite uncertain what his design was as to the final location of his colony.

On Monday the fifth of August he ordered his tent to be erected on shore, and there, attended by his officers, he summoned the merchants and masters of vessels, both English and strangers, to be present at his taking possession of the country. When they were assembled, his Patent was read to them and duly interpreted to the strangers who were not familiar with the English language. With due ceremony he took possession of the harbor of St. John's and two hundred leagues in every direction "for her Majesty; receiving into his hands a rod and a turf of the soil, and entering upon the land for himself, his heirs, and assigns, as a territory of her Majesty which she authorized him to enjoy forever, and govern according to the laws of England, which must be obeyed by all coming thither for any purpose whatever."

As a beginning, he also published three laws to be in force immediately.

I. Religion in public Exercise should be according to the Church of England.

II. If any thing prejudicial to her Majesty's Right and Possession of these Territories were attempted, the Party or Parties offending should be adjudged and executed as in case of High Treason according to the laws of England.

III. If any Person should utter Words founding to the Dishonor

Dishonor of her Majesty, he should lose his ears and have his Ship and Goods confiscate.

These lawes, notwithstanding their severity, received approval by the general voice of the assembly, "praying for the continuance of this possession and government thus begun." With this the assembly was dismissed and immediately after "the Arms of England, engraven in lead, were set up on a Pillar of Wood." To secure and carry into practice his authority, Sir Humfrey farmed out certain parcels of land lying by the water side, to be occupied yearly by the grantees, or their assigns, who should pay a certain rent, or service, to the grantor, his heirs, and assigns forever. These were chiefly places for curing and drying their fish, and made that work more orderly and convenient.

It now remained to collect the supplies and fit the vessels for continuing their voyage towards the south. That this might be done in a systematic way, Sir Humfrey appointed suitable men to perform various specific duties: some to gather the supplies: some to ascertain the products and economic features of the acquired lands and report to him; and others to determine the latitudes and longitudes, and map the country, its harbors, mountains, and streams.

These duties were entered upon with zeal and fidelity, occupying the attention of the better part of his company. What pleased the General most was the report of the Refiner of Metals, Daniel the Saxon, as he called him, who brought him rich specimens of silver ore. This was really Sir Humfrey's ruling desire. As Captain Haies says: "The General was most curious in the search of metals." In speaking of Daniel, who was ordered to be diligent in the search,

Haies

Haies writes as follows: "He found ore which with no small shew of contentment he delivered unto the General, using protestation that if silver were the thing that might satisfie the General and his followers, there it was: advising him to seke no further: the peril whereof he undertooke upon his life 'so dear to him as the crown of England unto her majestie,' that I may use his own words, if it fell not out accordingly."

Sir Humfrey had full confidence in Daniel's words and accepted his advice to let no one see the ore, not even Captain Haies himself; and when the Captain asked for a piece of it, he said, "Content yourself. I have seen ynough; and were it to satisfie my private humour, would proceede no further. And touching the ore, I have sent it aboard, Whereof I would have no speech to be made so long as we remain within harbor: here being both Portugals, Biscaya's and Frenchmen not farre off, from whom must be kept any bruit or muttering of such matters. When we are at sea, proove shall be made: if it be to our desire, we may return the sooner hither again."

Entertaining such views, the head of the enterprize was hastening preparations to depart; but others were harboring very different intentions and were as busy in plotting mischief. Some of the unpunished pirates planned to steal away by night in the ships while Sir Humfrey and the Captains were on shore. Another party seized a vessel laden with fish, putting the crew on shore. Still others hid themselves in the woods, watching for an opportunity to get to England on the returning ships that were now almost daily departing from the coast. Meantime many men were falling

sick, and some died. All these causes had so weakened the General's forces that scarcely enough suitable men remained to man his vessels.

In this emergency he decided to leave the Swallow at St. John's, to carry home the sick and discontented; and Captain Winter of the Delight was to take the command of her. Captain Maurice Brown of the Swallow was put in command of the Delight and brought into that ship his men of piratical habit who had robbed the fishing vessel a few weeks before. Sir Humfrey chose to go himself in the little frigate Squirrel that he might be better able to explore bays and inlets where larger vessels could not enter so safely. This vessel is supposed to have been his private property; and as he was much attached to the men who had crossed the ocean in it and had been his companions in many perils on the coast, he could not be content to leave them.

On the twentieth of August, 1583, three ships, the Delight belonging to Sir Humfrey, the Golden Hinde, and the Squirrel, well supplied with provisions, stored chiefly in the Delight, the frigate Squirrel somewhat overloaded on her deck with guns and furnishings, as Captain Haies says, "More to give a show than with judgment to foresee unto the safety of her and the men," departed from the harbor of St. John's. On the evening of the next day they reached Cape Race, twenty-five leagues distant to the southwest.

While they were becalmed there, in less than two hours they caught large codfish enough to last them many days, although they made them almost their sole subsistence. From here they directed their course to Cape Breton, intending also to visit Sablon, or Sable Island, because Sir Humfrey
had

had been informed by a "Portugal" that thirty years before his countrymen had placed on this island some cattle and swine which had increased to great numbers and could now be made of much service in planting a colony, either in Newfoundland or on the continent farther south. A knowledge of the climate would have suggested to him that it would require a very hardy race of kine or swine to survive without protection the winters of Sable Island. Sailing along south of Newfoundland with winds unfavorable for eight days without seeing land, they fell among dangerous shoals probably not far from the island he intended to visit. On Tuesday, the twenty-seventh of August, the founding of Gylberte's ship showed white sand at a depth of thirty-five fathoms, and all the vessels failed a northwesterly course during the next day.

Wednesday night there was much carousing on board the *Delight*, and she failed on "with little watching for danger." Breakers were fought on board the *Hinde* and *Squirrel*, and the *Delight* was signalled to change her course; but the watch was so poorly kept that the danger was not known till it was too late to escape it. The *Delight* ran aground, and soon after her stern was broken to pieces. Sixteen of her crew including the master got away in a cock-boat, and were without provisions for seven days, but finally reached the shore of Newfoundland, losing only two of their number.

The *Golden Hinde* and *Squirrel* barely escaped the danger. The loss of their largest ship, the one which carried their chief supplies, was very disheartening. The Refiner Henry and Stephanus Parmenius of Buda, the
scholar

scholar and poet who was expected¹ to write in Latin a history of the expedition, were both involved in this catastrophe.

Under such discouragements, the weather growing more severe and winter approaching, the men lost hope and courage: and when the provisions began to be scarce, it was impossible to keep up their spirits. In the Squirrel hunger and the want of comfortable clothing led the men to petition the General to return to England before they all perished. Their wish to go home was soon made known by signs to the men on the *Golden Hinde*; and then they too became equally importunate to abandon the voyage.

There was some show of persistence in the captain and master of the *Hinde*; but Sir Humfrey saw that with loss of all courage among the crews, nothing could be accomplished, and promptly decided to make the best of his disappointment. He assured the officers of the *Hinde* that he should return in the spring with a better equipment. He is said to have used these hopeful words: "Be content: we have seen enough: and take no care of expense past. I will set you forth royally the next spring, if God send us safe home. Therefore, I pray you, let us no longer strive here, where we fight against the elements."

Accordingly on Saturday afternoon, the thirty-first day of August, they reversed the course and began their return to England. While they were in the act of turning, a monster resembling a huge lion, doubtless a large walrus, swam by them and gave forth his peculiar howl. No wonder they
were

¹ This provision for a worthy record reveals the ambition and exalted aims of the man who planned this unique enterprise. Had it been successful, Par-
menius would have enjoyed a noble theme, and we might read a noble epic.

were amazed at his terrible voice and "ugly demonstration of long teeth." This appearance the General took as a *bonum omen*, "rejoicing that he was to war against such an enemy if it were indeed the devil." Our persistent adventurer always took a hopeful view of all phenomena that disturbed his superstitious followers.

Their efforts to return to England were at first seconded by strong west winds. But the gales increased, and soon their violence raised such lofty tumbling seas as almost to bury the little craft now carrying the projector of the whole enterprise. No entreaty or threatening danger could induce him to fail in the *Hinde* as a safer ship than the *Squirrel*.

They made such rapid progress that in two days they passed Cape Race which they had left eight days before the loss of the *Delight*. Captain Haies attributed a part of this speed to a strong current setting to the northeast, the earliest recognition, perhaps, of what has since been known as the Gulf Stream.

Every near view of our General is now interesting. On Monday, September second, we find him visiting the *Golden Hinde*, to have the surgeon dress his foot which he had wounded by treading on a nail. But the painful errand did not prevent his comforting his followers with the assurance that their "hard success" was all passed, and the good was now to come. On this occasion it was appointed that the two ships should always carry lights by night, to insure their keeping together.

Another storm was soon encountered and passed through in safety and thanksgiving, after which, on a fair day, Sir Humfrey Gylberte made his last visit to the *Golden Hinde*,
continuing

continuing there all day and "making merry with the Captain, master, and men."

"There were also," says Haies, "fundrie discourses touching affairs past and to come": Gylberte regretting with great sorrow the destruction of the Delight, the loss of his men to the number of a hundred at least, together with his books, notes, and the collection of ores made by Daniel the Saxon. While speaking of this last item of loss, he became so excited that he severely chastised the boy who, on a fair day, when sent to fetch these treasures from the Delight to the Squirrell, had by his carelessness and neglect allowed them to remain and be lost. The free circulation of the Portugal's wine on this merry occasion, it will be charitable to suppose, may have made his indignation warmer than it ought to be so long after the fault was committed. But the occurrence shows how much he prized these conclusive proofs of the real mineral wealth of his possessions. It is evident that by the force of these same proofs he had hoped the Queen would be induced to lend him such a sum as would enable him to return the next year and secure the rich treasures he had discovered. His own words on this occasion, when he was asked by what means he would be able to come back, as he had promised, with two fleets, one for the north, the other for the south, disclosed the ground of his sanguine hopes: "Leave that to me. I will ask a pennie of no man. I will bring good tidings unto her majesty, who will be so gracious [as] to lend me 10000 pounds." Captain Haies adds: "He did thank God with all his heart for that he had seen the same, being enough for us all, and that we needed not to seeke any further. These last words he
would

would often repeate with demonstration of great fervencie of mind, being himself very confident and settled in belief of inestimable good by this voyage : which the greater numbers of his followers, nevertheless, mistrusted altogether, not being made partakers of those secrets which the General kept to himself."

After this interesting, and we may think too merry, interview, Sir Humfrey was conveyed back to his diminutive vessel which had once safely crossed the Atlantic. All such supplies as could enhance the comfort of his narrow quarters were freely furnished by the *Golden Hinde*; and a final though useless entreaty to remain in the larger and therefore safer ship was joined with those words of farewell, uttered by the captain, master, and others. On his departure his last words in reply to their earnest protest were, "I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils."

"So they set him aboard his pinnace committing him to God's protection," as Captain Haies quaintly remarks, "we being more than 300 leagues onward of our way home."

The two little vessels, one of forty, the other of only ten tons burthen, now bore to the northward till they came into the latitude of fifty degrees;¹ and when they were about the longitude of the Azores, or thirty degrees west of Greenwich, they encountered great gales. The tumbling waves broke short and high like pyramids, a sea most dangerous for small vessels

¹ This position of the ships near the junction of the fiftieth parallel and the thirtieth meridian, must have been near the place where Sir Humfrey's little vessel was submerged and his life was ended.

Attention is called to this because some notable mistakes on this subject have been made. Longfellow's poem on Sir Humphrey Gilbert is an instance.

vessels with decks heavily laden. On the point of the main yard of the *Hinde*, *Castor* and *Pollux* appeared at night, prefiging more storm and tempest.

On the afternoon of September ninth the General's ship was nearly overwhelmed; but recovering herself, the crew showed signals of joy; and it is asserted that, as often as the two vessels came within hearing distance, Sir Humfrey, sitting abaft with a book in his hand, cried out to those in the *Hinde*, "we are as near to heaven by sea as by land."

The following night was more tempestuous, and about twelve o'clock the *Squirrell* was just ahead of the *Hinde* and her light was in full view of the watch on the latter vessel, when suddenly that light went out and the little frigate disappeared, never to be seen again. Though there could be no doubt of her sad fate, yet the Captain of the *Hinde* watched all that night and, as he says, "with but the faintest hope of seeing her again," signalled every small sail he met till he arrived on the coast of England.

Such was the tragic end of Sir Humfrey Gylberte and all his plans and glorious dreams. Down into the depths of the deep Atlantic he sank with his ship, his crew, and his treasures. But his memory will not soon die. By his studies and his noble attempts to achieve great things for his family, for his Queen, and for England, he won the respect and even the admiration of his age: and though we are hardly able to lay aside the standard by which we estimate men in the twentieth century, yet we can but see in him many noble qualities. He had, indeed, some serious faults: an ardent temper impaired his success as a commander; he did not know how to gain the homage of his
followers,

followers, especially those of the lowest rank; his judgment was not so clear as always to be an unerring guide in trying emergencies; he distrusted men and lost their confidence, when to have trusted them would have been far wiser: on the other hand, we can but admire his fidelity to duty, even though it led him into severities for which his times and not himself should be largely held responsible; his loyalty and devotion to his sovereign was an undying principle; no one ever questioned his patriotism; no danger ever equalled his courage; enthusiasm glowed in all his work; and enterprise had no more noble exemplification than the whole tenor of his earnest life.

Of his private life at home and in his family we can scarcely obtain a glimpse. But his solicitude for his wife and children, so plainly manifested in his correspondence, leaves no doubt that his domestic virtues equalled his devotion to the public service.

We must suppose that his death and the great losses attending his last two ventures, in which his wife's large estate was ruinously involved, left his family with very slender means of support. And, while it is pleasant to believe that their ordinary wants were supplied by both private beneficence and public provision,¹ yet we cannot but regret that the golden hopes, cherished by Lady Gylberte and her children in sympathy with their natural protector and support, were never to be fulfilled.

What

¹ June 1585.
A graunte unto the Ladie Anne Gilbert and to her assignes of all such lands in the countie of Kent as Richard Guilford Esquire was seased of at the time

of his departure beyond the seas contrarie to a statute made against fugitives. Procured by Sir Walter Rawley.

Signet Office, Index, Vol. II.

What chiefly interests us in the career of Sir Humfrey Gylberte, as we have unfolded it in the preceding pages, is his attempt, the first ever made, to plant an English Colony on American soil. As we have seen, his undertaking was an utter and absolute failure. If Sir Humfrey had survived, if he had succeeded in planting a colony on the inhospitable shores of Newfoundland, or even on a better soil or in a better climate, with his purpose of self-aggrandizement and his love of power, his enterprise would inevitably have come to naught. It was destined in the usual course of human progress that failures should precede success, that practical experience should be obtained at a great cost. Sir Walter Raleigh sacrificed on the shores of North Carolina a vast amount of treasure and many human lives without leaving any visible result. The Sagadahock attempt under the patronage of Sir John Popham, the Chief Justice of England, had a brief existence, and went out like an air-bubble on the waters. Sir William Alexander, the Earl of Stirling's New Scotland Enterprise lasted but a few years, effected no permanent settlement, and left behind it only the name of Nova Scotia.

From all these failures doubtless much was learned. We may well believe that they were necessary steps, and instructive examples in later settlements which became lasting and permanent.



DISCOURSE

BY

SIR HUMFREY GYLBERTE, KNIGHT



A DISCOURSE

WRITTEN BY

SIR HUMFREY GYLBERTE, KNIGHT,

TO PROVE A PASSAGE BY THE NORTHWEST TO

CATAIA AND EAST INDIA.¹

CHAPTER I.

*To proue by authoritie a passage to be on the North side of
America, to goe to Cataia, China, and to the East India.*

WHEN I gaue my selfe to the studie of Geographie, after I had perused and diligently scanned the descriptions of Europe, Asia & Afrike, and conferred them with the Mappes and Globes both Antique and Moderne: I came in fine to the fourth part of the world, commonly called America, which by all descriptions I found to bee an Iland enuironed round about with Sea, hauing on the Southside of it the frete or straight of Magellan, on the West side, Mar del Sur, which
Sea

¹ This DISCOURSE is taken from the VOYAGES OF RICHARD HAKLUYT, edition 1810, London, Vol. III., pp. 32-47.

Sea runneth towards the North, separating it from the East parts of Asia, where the Dominions of the Cathaians are: On the East part our West Ocean, and on the North side the sea that feuereth it from Groneland, thorow which Northern Seas the Passage lyeth, which I take now in hand to discover.

Plato in Timæo, and in the Dialogue called Critias, discourseth of an incomparable great Iland then called Atlantis, being greater then all Affrike and Asia, which lay Westward from the Straights of Gibraltar, nauigable round about: affirming also that the Princes of Atlantis did as well enioy the gouernance of all Affrike, and the most part of Europe, as of Atlantis it selfe.

Also to proue Platos opinion of this Iland, and the inhabiting of it in ancient time by them of Europe, to be of the more credite; Marinæus Siculus in his Chronicle of Spaine, reporteth that there haue bene found by the Spaniards in the gold Mines of America, certaine pieces of Money ingraued with the Image of Augustus Cæsar: which pieces were sent to the Pope for a testimonie of the matter, by John Rufus Archbishop of Consentinum.

Moreouer, this was not only thought of Plato, but by Marfilius Ficinus, an excellent Florentine Philosopher, Crantor the Græcian, and Proclus, and Philo the famous Iew, as appeareth in his booke De Mundo, and in the Commentaries vpon Plato, to be ouerflowen and swallowed vp with water, by reason of a mightie earthquake, and streaming down of the heavenly Fludgates. The like whereof happened vnto some part of Italy, when by the forciblenes of the Sea, called Superum, it cut off Sicilia from
the

the Continent of Calabria, as appeareth in Iustine, in the beginning of his fourth booke. Also there chanced the like in Zeland, a part of Flanders.

And also the Cities of Pyrrha and Antiffa, about Meotis palus: and also the Citie Burys, in the Corynthian bosome, commonly called Sinus Corinthiacus, haue bene swallowed vp with the Sea, and are not at this day to be discerned. By which accident America grew to be vnknownen of long time vnto vs of the later ages, and was lately discouered againe by Americus Vespucius, in the yeere of our Lord 1497, which some say to haue bene first discouered by Christophorus Columbus a Genuois, Anno 1492.

The fame calamitie happened vnto this Isle of Atlantis 600 and odde yeres before Plato his time, which some of the people of the Southeast parts of the world accompted as 9000 yeeres: for the maner then was to reckon the Moone her Period of the Zodiak for a yeere, which is our vsual moneth, depending à Luminari minori.

So that in these our dayes there can no other mayne or Iland be found or iudged to bee parcell of this Atlantis, then those Westerne Islands, which beare now the name of America: counteruailing thereby the name of Atlantis, in the knowledge of our age. Then, if when no part of the sayd Atlantis, was oppressed by water, and earthquake, the coast round about the same were nauigable: a farre greater hope now remaineth of the same by the Northwest, seeing the most part of it was, since that time, swallowed vp with water, which could not vtterly take away the olde deeps and chanel, but rather be an occasion of the inlarging of the olde, and also an inforcing of a great many new: why then

then should we now doubt of our Northwest passage and nauigation from England to India? &c. seeing that Atlantis now called America, was euer knowen to be an Island, and in those dayes nauigable round about, which by acceffe of more water could not be diminished.

Also Aristotle in his booke De Mundo, and the learned Germaine Simon Gryneus in his annotations vpon the same, faith that the whole earth, meaning thereby, as manifestly doth appeare, Asia, Africk and Europe, being all the countreys then knowen, is but one Island, compassed about with the reach of the sea Atlantine: which likewise prooueth America to be an Island, and in no part adioyning to Asia, or the rest.

Also many ancient writers, as Strabo and others, called both the Ocean sea, which lieth East of India, Atlanticum pelagus, and that sea also on the West coasts of Spaine and Africk, Mare Atlanticum: the distance betweene the two coasts is almost halfe the compasse of the earth.

So that it is incredible, as by Plato appeareth manifestly, that the East Indian Sea had the name Atlanticum pelagus of the mountaine Atlas in Africk, or yet the sea adioining to Africk, had the name Oceanus Atlanticus of the same mountaine: but that those seas and the mountaine Atlas were so called of this great Island Atlantis, and that the one and the other had their names for a memorial of the mighty prince Atlas, sometime king thereof, who was Iaphet, yongest sonne to Noah, in whose time the whole earth was diuided between the three brethren, Sem, Cam, and Iaphet.

Wherefore I am of opinion that America by the Northwest will be found fauourable to this our enterprife, and am the
rather

rather imboldened to beleue the same, for that I finde it not onely confirmed by Plato, Arifotle, and other ancient Phylofophers ; but alfo by all the beft moderne Geographers, as Gemma Frifius, Munfterus, Appianus, Hunterus, Gaftaldus, Guyccardinus, Michael Tramasinus, Francifcus Demongenitus, Bernardus Puteanus, Andreas Vauafor, Tramontanus, Petrus Martyr, and alfo Ortelius, who doth coaft out in his generall Mappe fet out Anno 1569, all the countreys and Capes, on the Northwest fide of America, from Hochalega to Cape de Paramantia : defcribing likewise the fea coaftes of Cataia and Gronland, towards any part of America, making both Gronland and America, Iflands, difioyned by a great Sea, from any part of Afia.

All which learned men and paineful trauellers haue affirmed, with one confent and voice, that America was an Ifland : and that there lyeth a great Sea betweene it, Cataia, and Grondland, by the which any man of our countrey, that will giue the attempt, may with fmall danger paffe to Cataia, the Moluccæ, India, and all other places in the Eaft, in much fhorter time, then either the Spaniard, or Portugal doeth, or may doe, from the neereft parte, of any of their countreys within Europe.

What moued thefe learned men to affirme thus much, I know not, or to what ende fo many and fundry trauellers of both ages haue allowed the fame : But I coniecture that they would neuer haue fo constantly affirmed, or notified their opinions therein to the world, if they had not had great good caufe, and many probable reafons, to haue lead them therevnto.

Now leaft you fhould make fmall accompt of ancient
8 writers

writers or of their experiences which trauelled long before our times, reckoning their authority amongst fables of no importance; I haue for the better assurance of those proofes, fet downe some part of a discourse, written in the Saxon tongue and translated into English by M. Nowel seruant to Sir William Cecil, lord Burleigh, and lord high treasurer of England, wherein there is described a Nauigation which one Ochther made, in the time of King Alfred, King of Westfaxe Anno 871, the words of which discourse were these: Hee sailed right North, hauing alwaies the desert land on the Starborde, and on the Larbord the maine sea, continuing his course, vntill hee perceiued that the coast bowed directly towards the East, or else the Sea opened into the land he could not tell how farre, where he was compelled to stay vntil he had a westerne winde, or somewhat vpon the North, and sayled thence directly East alongst the coast, so farre as hee was able in foure dayes, where he was againe inforced to tary vntill hee had a North winde, because the coast there bowed directly towards the South, or at least opened he knew not howe farre into the land, so that he sayled thence along the coast continually full South, so farre as he could trauell in the space of fise dayes, where hee discouered a mighty riuer, which opened farre into the land, and in the entrie of this riuer he turned backe againe.

Whereby it appeareth that he went the very same way, that we now doe yerely trade by S. Nicholas into Moscouia, which no man knew for certaintie to be by sea, vntil it was since discouered by our English men, in the time of King Edward the sixt: but thought before that time that Grone-land had ioyned to Normoria, Byarmia, &c. and therefore

was

was accompted a new discouery, being nothing so indeede, as by this discourse of Ochther it appeareth.

Neuerthelesse if any man should haue taken this voyage in hand by the encouragement of this onely author, he should haue bene thought but simple: considering that this Nauigation was written so many yeres past, in so barbarous a tongue by one onely obscure author, and yet we in these our dayes finde by our owne experiences his former reports to be true.

How much more then ought we to beleeeue this passage to Cataia to bee, being verified by the opinions of all the best, both Antique, and Moderne Geographers, and plainly set out in the best and most allowed Mappes, Charts, Globes, Cosmographical tables & discourses of this our age, and by the rest not denied but left as a matter doubtfull.

CHAPTER II.

*To prooue by reason a passage to be on the Northside of
America, to goe to Cataia, &c.*

FIRST, all seas are maintained by the abundance of water, so that the neerer the end any Riuer, Bay or Hauen is, the shalower it waxeth, although by some accidentall barre, it is sometime found otherwise. But the farther you sayle West from Island towards the place, where this fret is thought to be, the more deepe are the seas: which giueth vs good hope of continuance of the same Sea with Mar del Sur, by some fret that lyeth betweene America, Groneland and Cataia.

2. Also

2. Also if that America were not an Island, but a part of y^e continent adioyning to Asia, either the people which inhabite Mangia, Anian, & Quinfay, &c. being borderers vpon it, would before this time haue made some road into it, hoping to haue found some like cōmodities to their owne.

3. Or els the Scythians and Tartarians (which oftentimes heretofore haue fought farre and neere for new feats, driuen therevnto through the necessitie of their cold and miserable countreys) would in all this time haue found the way to America, and entred the same, had the passages bene neuer so straite or difficult; the countrey being so temperate, pleasant and fruitfull, in comparifon of their owne. But there was neuer any such people found there by any of the Spaniards, Portugals, or Frenchmen, who first discovered the Inland of that countrey: which Spaniards, or Frenchmen must then of necessitie haue seene some one ciuil man in America, considering how full of ciuill people Asia is: But they neuer saw so much as one token or signe, that euer any man of the knowen part of the world had bene there.

4. Furthermore it is to be thought, that if by reason of mountaines, or other craggy places, the people neither of Cataia or Tartarie could enter the countrey of America, or they of America haue entred Asia, if it were so ioyned: yet some one sauage or wandering beast would in so many yeres haue passed into it: but there hath not any time bene found any of the beasts proper to Cataia, or Tartarie &c. in America: nor of those proper to America, in Tartarie, Cataia, &c. or any part of Asia. Which thing proueth America, not onely to be one Island, and in no part adioyning to Asia:

But

But also that the people of those Countreys, haue not had any traffique with each other.

5. Moreouer at the least some one of those painefull trauellers, which of purpose haue passed the confines of both countreys, with intent only to discouer, would as it is most likely haue gone from the one to the other: if there had bene any piece of land, or Isthmos, to haue ioyned them together, or els haue declared some cause to the contrary.

6. But neither Paulus Venetus, who liued and dwelt a long time in Cataia, euer came into America, and yet was at the sea coastes of Mangia, ouer against it where he was embarked, and perfourmed a great Nauigation along those seas: Neither yet Verarzanus, or Franciscus Vasques de Coronado, who trauelled the North part of America by land, euer found entry from thence by land to Cataia, or any part of Asia.

7. Also it appeareth to be an Island, insomuch as the Sea runneth by nature circularly from the East to the West, following the diurnal motion of Primum Mobile, which carieth with it all inferiour bodies moueable, aswel celestially as elemental: which motion of the waters is most evidently seene in the Sea, which lieth on the Southside of Afrike where the current that runneth from the East to the West is so strong, by reason of such motiō, that the Portugals in their voyages Eastward to Calicut, in passing by Cap. de buona Sperança¹ are inforced to make diuers courses, the current there being so swift as it striketh from thence all along Westward vpon the fret of Magellan, being distant
from

¹ The Cape of Good Hope was first called El Cabo Tormentoso by its discoverer Bartolomeo Diaz: then, lest the name should discourage mariners, Henry of Portugal changed it to Cabo de Bona Esperança: Anglice, Cape of Good Hope.

from thence, neere the fourth part of the longitude of the earth; and not hauing free passage and entrance thorow the fret towards the West, by reason of the narrownesse of the sayd Straite of Magellan, it runneth to salue this wrong, Nature not yielding to accidentall restraints, all along the Easterne coastes of America, Northwards so far as Cape Fredo, being the farthest knowne place of the same continent towards the North: which is about 4800 leagues, reckoning therewithall the trending of the land.

8. So that this current being continually maintained with such force, as Iaques Cartier affirmeth it to be, who met with the same being at Baccalaos, as he sayled along the coastes of America, then either it must of necessitie haue way to pass from Cape Fredo, thorow this fret, Westward towards Cataia, being knowen to come so farre, onely to salue his former wrongs, by the authority before named: or els it must needes strike ouer, vpon the coast of Island, Norway, Finmarke, and Lappia, which are East from the sayd place about 360 leagues, with greater force then it did from Cape de buona Sperança, vpon the fret of Magellan, or from the fret of Magellan to Cape Fredo, vpon which coastes Iaques Cartier met with the same, considering the shortnesse of the Cut from the sayd Cape Fredo, to Island, Lappia, &c. And so the cause Efficient remaining, it would haue continually followed along our coasts, through the narrow seas, which it doth not, but is digested about the North of Labrador, by some through passage there thorow this fret.

The like course of the water in some respect happeneth in the Mediterrane sea, as affirmeth Couterenus, whereas
the

the current which cometh from Tanais, & Pontus Euxinus, running along all the coasts of Greece, Italy, France, and Spaine, and not finding sufficient way out through Gibraltar, by meanes of the straitnesse of the fret it runneth backe againe along the coastes of Barbary, by Alexandria, Nattolia, &c.

It may, peradventure, bee thought that this course of the sea doth sometime surcease, and thereby impugne this principle, because it is not discerned all along the coast of America, in such sort as Iaques Cartier found it: Wherevnto I answere this: that albeit, in euery part of the Coast of America, or elsewhere this current is not sensibly perceiued, yet it hath euermore such like motion, either in the vppermost or nethermost part of the sea; as it may be proued true, if ye sinke a sayle by a couple of ropes, neere the ground, fastening to the nethermost corners two gunne chambers or other weights: by the driuing whereof you shall plainly perceiue, the course of the water, and current running with such course in the bottome.

An obiection answered. The sea doth euermore performe this circular motion, either in Suprema, or concaua superficie aquæ.

By the like experiment, you may finde the ordinary motion of the sea, in the Ocean: howe farre soeuer you be off the land.

9. Also there commeth another current from out the Northeast from the Scythian Sea, as M. Ienkinson a man of rare vertue, great trauaile and experience, told me, which runneth Westward towards Labrador, as the other did, which commeth from the South; so that both these currents,
must

muſt haue way thorow this our fret, or elſe encounter together and runne contrarie courſes, in one line, but no ſuch conflicts of ſtreames, or contrary courſes are found about any part of Labrador, or Terra noua, as witneſſe our yeerely fiſhers, and other ſaylers that way, but is there diſgeſted, as aforeſayd, and found by experience of Barnard de la Torre, to fall into Mar del Sur.

10. Furthermore, the current in the great Ocean, could not haue beene maintained to runne continually one way, from the beginning of the world vnto this day, had there not beene ſome thorow paſſage by the fret aforeſayd, and ſo by circular motion bee brought againe to maintaine it ſelfe: For the Tides and courſes of the ſea are maintayned by their interchangeable motions: as freſh riuers are by ſprings, by ebbing and flowing, by rarefaction and condenſation.

So that it reſteth not poſſible, ſo farre as my ſimple reaſon can comprehend, that this perpetuall current can by any meanes be maintained, but onely by continuall reaceſſe of the ſame water, which paſſeth thorow the fret, and is brought about thither againe, by ſuch circular motion as aforeſayd. And the certaine falling thereof by this fret into Mar del Sur is prooued by the teſtimonie and experience, of Bernard de la Torre, who was ſent from P. de la Natinidad to the Moluccæ, Anno domini 1542. by commandement of Anthony Mendoza, then Viceroy of Noua Hiſpania, which Bernard ſayled 750. Leagues, on the Northſide of the Æquator, and there met with a current, which came from the Northeaſt, the which droue him backe againe to Tidore.¹

¹ In the Moluccas.

Wherefore

Wherefore this current being proued to come from C. de buona Sperança to the fret of Magellan, and wanting sufficient entrance there, by narrownes of the straite, is by the necessitie of natures force, brought to Terra de Labrador, where Iaques Cartier met the same, and thence certainly knowne, not to strike ouer vpon Island, Lappia, &c. and found by Bernard de la Torre in Mar del Sur, on the backeside of America: therefore this current, hauing none other passage, must of necessity, fall out thorow this our fret into Mar del Sur, and so trending by the Moluccae, China, and C. de buona Sperança, maintaineth it selfe by circular motion, which is all one in nature, with Motus ab Oriente in Occidentem.

So that it seemeth, we haue now more occasion to doubt of our returne, then whether there be a passage that way, yea or no: which doubt, hereafter shall be sufficiently remooued. Wherefore, in mine opinion, reason it self, grounded vpon experience, assureth vs of this passage, if there were nothing els to put vs in hope thereof. But least these might not suffice, I haue added in this chapter following, some further prooffe hereof, by the experience of such as haue passed some part of this discouerie: and in the next adioining to that the authority of those, which haue failed wholly, thorow euery part thereof.

CHAPTER III.

To proue by experience of sundry mens trauels, the opening of some part of this Northwest passage: wherby good hope remaineth of the rest.

PAULUS VENETUS, who dwelt many yeres in Cataia, affirmed that hee sayled 1500 miles vpon the coastes of Mangia, and Anian, towards the Northeast: alwayes finding the Seas open before him, not onely as farre as he went, but also as farre as he could discerne.

2. Also Franciscus Vaques de Coronado passing from Mexico by Ceuola, through the country of Quiuira, to Siera Neuada, found there a great sea, where were certaine ships laden with Merchandise, carrying on their prowes the pictures of certaine birds called Alcatrarzi, part whereof were made of golde, and part of siluer, who signified by signes, that they were thirty days comming thither: which likewise proueth America by experience to be disioyned from Cataia: on that part by a great Sea, because they could not come from any part of America, as Natiues thereof: for that, so farre as is discouered, there hath not bene found there any one Shippe of that countrey.

3. In like maner, John Baros testifieth that the Cosmographers of China, where he himselfe had bene, affirme that the Sea coast trendeth from thence Northeast, to 50 degrees of Septentrional latitude, being the furthest part that way which the Portugals had then knowledge of: And that the
said

said Cosmographers knew no cause to the contrary, but that it might continue further.

By whose experiences America is prooued to be separte from those parts of Asia, directly against the same. And not contented with the iudgements of these learned men only, I haue searched what might be further sayd for the confirmation hereof.

4. And I found that Franciscus Lopez de Gomara affirmeth America to be an Island, and likewise Gronland: and that Gronland is distant from Lappia 40 leagues, and from Terra de Labrador, 50.

5. Moreouer, Aluarus Nunnius a Spaniard, and learned Cosmographer, and Iacobus Cartier, who made two voyages into those parts, and sayled 900 miles vpon the Northeast coastes of America doe in part confirme the same.

6. Likewise Hieronymus Fracastorius, a learned Italian, and trauailer in the North parts of the same land.

7. Also Iaques Cartier hauing done the like, heard say at Hochelaga in Noua Francia, how that there was a great Sea at Saguinay, whereof the end was not knowen: which they presupposed to be the passage to Cataia.

Furthermore, Sebastian Cabota by his personal experience and trauel hath set foorth, and described this passage in his Charts, which are yet to be seene in the Queens Maiesties priuie Gallerie at Whitehall, who was sent to make this discouery by King Henrie the seuenth, and entred the same fret: affirming that he sayled very farre Westward, with a quarter of the North, on the Northside of Terra de Labrador the eleuenth of Iune, vntill he came to the Septentrionall latitude of 67 degrees and a halfe, and finding the Seas
still

still open, sayd, that he might, & would haue gone to Cataia, if the mutinie of the Master and Mariners had not bene.

Now as these mens experience hath proued some part of this passage: so the chapter following shal put you in full assurance of the rest, by their experiences which haue passed through euery part thereof. .

CHAPTER IV.

To prooue by circumstance that the Northwest passage hath bene sayled throughout.

THE diuersitie betwene brute beastes and men, or betweene the wise and the simple is, that the one iudgeth by sense onely, and gathereth no surety of any thing that he hath not seene, felt, heard, tasted or smelled: And the other not so onely, but also findeth the certaintie of things by reason, before they happen to be tryed. Wherefore I haue added proofes of both sorts, that the one and the other might thereby be satisfied.

1. First, as Gemma Frisius reciteth, there went from Europe three brethren through this passage: whereof it tooke the name of Fretum trium fratrum.

2. Also Plinie affirmeth out of Cornelius Nepos, who wrote 57 yeeres before Christ, that there were certaine Indians driuen by tempest, vpon the coast of Germanie which were presented by the king of Sueuia, vnto Quintus Metellus Celer, the Proconfull of France.

3. And

3. And Plinie vpon the same sayth, that it is no maruell though there be Sea by the North, where there is such abundance of moisture: which argueth that hee doubted not of a nauigable passage that way, through which those Indians came.¹

4. And for the better prooffe that the same authoritie of Cornelius Nepos is not by me wrested, to proue my opinion of the Northwest passage: you shall finde the same affirmed more plainly in that behalfe, by the excellent Geographer Dominicus Marius Niger, who sheweth how many wayes the Indian sea stretcheth it selfe, making in that place recital of certaine Indians, that were likewise driuen through the North Seas from India, vpon the coastes of Germany by great tempest, as they were sayling intrade of marchandize.

5. Also while Frederic Barbaroffa reigned Emperour, Anno Do. 1160, there came certaine other Indians vpon the coast of Germanie.

6. Likewise Othon in the storie of the Gothes affirmeth, that in the time of the Germane Emperours there were also certaine Indians cast by force of weather, vpon the coast of the sayde countrey, which foresaid Indians could not possibly haue come by the Southeast, Southwest, nor from any part of Afrike or America, nor yet by the Northeast: therefore they came of necessitie by this our Northwest passage.

¹ *Vide Lib. II. Chapter 66.*

CHAPTER V.

To prooue that these Indians aforementioned came not by the Southeast, Southwest, nor from any other part of Afrike, or America.

FIRST, they could not come from the Southeast by the Cape de bona Sperança, because the roughnes of the Seas there is such, occasioned by the currents and great winds in that part, that the greatest armadas the king of Portugal hath, cannot without great difficulty passe that way, much lesse then a Canoa of India could liue in those outrageous seas without shipwracke being a vessell of very small burden, and haue conducted themselues to the place aforesayd, being men vnexpert in the Arte of navigation.

2. Also, it appeareth plainly that they were not able to come from alongst the coast of Afrike aforesayd, to those parts of Europe, because the winds doe, for the most part, blow there Easterly off from the shore, and the current running that way in like sort, should haue driuen them Westward vpon some part of America: for such winds and tides could neuer haue led them from thēce to the said place where they were found, nor yet could they haue come from any of the countries aforesayd, keeping the seas alwayes, without skilful mariners to haue conducted them such like courses as were necessary to performe such a voiage.

3. Presupposing also, if they had bene driuen to the West as they must haue bene comming that way then they should haue perished, wanting supplie of victuals, not hauing any
place

place, once leauing the coast of Afrike, vntill they came to America, nor from America vntill they arriued vpon some part of Europe, or the Islands adioyning to it, to haue refreshed themselves.

4. Also, if notwithstanding such impossibilities they might haue recouered Germanie by comming from India by the Southeast, yet must they without all doubt haue strickn vpon some other part of Europe before their arriuall there, as the Isles of the Açores, Portugal, Spaine, France, England, Ireland, &c. which if they had done, it is not credible that they should or would haue departed vndiscovered of the inhabitants: but there was neuer found in those dayes any such ship or men but only vpon the coasts of Germanie, where they haue bene sundry times and in sundry ages cast aland: neither is it like that they would haue committed themselves againe to sea, if they had so arriued, not knowing where they were, nor whither to haue gone.

5. And by the Southwest it is vnpossible, because the current aforesayd which cōmeth from the East, striketh with such force vpon the fret of Magellan, and falleth with such swiftnesse and furie into Mar del Zur, that hardly any ship, but not possibly a Canoa, with such vnskilfull mariners, can come into our Westerne Ocean through that fret from the West seas of America, as Magellans experience hath partly taught vs.¹

6. And further, to prooue that these people so arriuing vpon the coast of Germany, were Indians, & not inhabters of any part either of Africa or America, it is manifest, because

¹ When Magellan first passed through the stormy straits, now bearing his name, into the great Southern Ocean, or Mar del Sur, he was so pleased with the quiet water that he gave it the name of Oceanus Pacificus; hence Pacific Ocean.

cause the natiues both of Africa and America neither had, or haue at this day, as is reported, other kind of boates then such as do beare neither mastes nor failes, except onely vpon the coasts of Barbarie and the Turkes ships, but do carie themselves from place to place neere the shore by the ore onely.

CHAPTER VI.

To prooue that those Indians came not by the Northeast, and that there is no thorow nauigable passage that way.

IT is likely that there should be no thorow passage by the Northeast, whereby to goe round about the world, because all Seas as aforefayd are maintained by the abundance of water, waxing more shallow and shelfie towards the ende, as we find it doeth by experience in Mare Glaciale,¹ towards the East, which breedeth small hope of any great continuance of that sea, to be nauigable towards the East, sufficient to faile thereby round about the world.

2. Also, it standeth scarcely with reason, that the Indians, dwelling vnder Torrida Zona, could endure the iniurie of the cold ayre, about the Septentrional latitude of 80. degrees, vnder which eleuation the passage by the Northeast cannot bee, as the often experience had of all the South parts of it sheweth, seeing that some of the inhabitants of this cold climate, whose Summer is to them an extreme Winter, haue bene stroken to death with the cold dampes of the aire about 72 degrees, by an accidental mishap, and yet the aire in such
like

¹ *Mare glaciale* is that part of the Arctic Ocean lying north of Europe and Asia.

like Eleuation is alwaies cold, and too cold for such as the Indians are.

3. Furthermore, the piercing cold of the grosse thicke aire so neere the Pole wil so stiffen and furre the sailes and ship tackling, that no mariner can either hoise or strike them, as our experience farre neerer the South, then this passage is presupposed to be, hath taught vs, without the vse whereof no voiage can be performed.

4. Also, the aire is so darkened with continuall mists and fogs so neere the Pole, that no man can well see, either to guide his ship, or direct his course.

5. Also the compasse at such eleuation doth very suddenly vary, which things must of force haue bene their destructions, although they had bene men of much more skill then the Indians are.

6. Moreouer, all baies, gulfes, and riuers doe receiue their increase vpon the flood, sensibly to be discerned on the one side of the shore or the other, as many waies as they be open to any main sea, as Mare Mediterraneum, Mare Rubrum, Sinus Persicus, Sinus Bodicus, Thamesis, and all other knowen hauens or riuers in any part of the world, and each of them opening but on one part to the maine sea, doe likewise receiue their increase vpon the flood the same way, and none other, which Mare Glaciale doeth, onely by the West; as M. Ienkinson affirmed vnto me; and therfore it followeth that this Northeast sea, receiuing increase but onely from the West, cannot possibly open to the maine Ocean by the East.

7. Moreouer, the farther you passe into any sea towards the end of it, on that part which is shut vp from the maine
10
sea

fea, as in all those aboue mentioned, the lesse and lesse the tides rise and fall. The like whereof also happeneth in Mare Glaciale, which proueth but small continuance of that Sea toward the East.

8. Also, the further yee goe toward the East in Mare Glaciale, the lesse salt the water is : which could not happen, if it were open to the salt Sea towards the East, as it is to the West only, seeing Euerything naturally ingendreth his like : and then must it be like salt throughout, as all the seas are, in such like climate and eleuation.

And therefore it seemeth that this Northeast sea is maintained by the riuer Ob, and such like fresshets, as Mare Goticum, and Mare Mediterraneum, in the vppermost parts thereof by the riuers Nilus, Danubius, Neper, Tanais, &c.

9. Furthermore, if there were any such sea at that eleuation, of like it should be alwaies frozen throughout, there being no tides to hinder it, because the extreme coldnes of the aire being in the vppermost part, and the extreme coldnesse of the earth in the bottome, the sea there being but of small depth, whereby the one accidentall coldnesse doth meet with the other, and the Sunne not hauing his reflection so neere the Pole, but at very blunt angles, it can neuer be dissolued after it is frozen, notwithstanding the great length of their day : for that the funne hath no heate at all in his light or beames, but proceeding onely by an accidentall reflection, which there wanteth in effect.

10. And yet if the Sunne were of sufficient force in that eleuation, to preuaile against this ice, yet must it be broken before it can be dissolued, which cannot be but through the long continuance of the funne aboue their Horizon, and by
that

that time the Sommer would be so farre spent, and so great darkenes and cold ensue, that no man could be able to endure so cold, darke, and discomfortable a nauigation, if it were possible for him then, and there to liue.

11. Further, the ice being once broken, it must of force so driue with the windes and tides, that no ship can faile in those seas, seeing our Fishers of Island, and the New found land, are subiect to danger through the great Islands of Ice which fleete in the Seas to the sailers great danger farre to the South of that presupposed passage.

12. And it cannot be that this Northeast passage should be any neerer the South, then before recited, for then it should cut off Ciremissi, & Turbi Tartari with Vzesucani, Chifani, and others from the Continent of Asia, which are knowen to be adioyning to Scythia, Tartaria, &c. with the other part of the same Continent.

And if there were any thorowe passage by the Northeast, yet were it to small ende and purpose for our traffique, because no shippe of great burden can Nauigate in so shallow a sea; and ships of small burden are very vnfit & vnprofitable, especially towards the blustering North to performe such a voyage.

CHAPTER VII.

To prooue that the Indians aforementioned, came onely by the Northwest, which induceth a certaintie of our passage by experience.

It is as likely that they came by the Northwest, as it is vnlikely that they should come, either by the Southeast, Southwest, Northeast, or from any other part of Africa or America, and therefore this Northwest passage hauing bene alreadie so many wayes proued, by disproouing of the others, &c, I shall the lesse neede in this place, to vse many words otherwise then to conclude in this sort, That they came onely by the Northwest from England, hauing these many reasons to leade me thereunto.

First, the one halfe of the windes of the compasse might bring them by the Northwest, bearing always betweene two sheats, with which kind of sayling the Indians are onely acquainted, not hauing any vse of a bow line, or quarter winde, without the which no ship can possibly come either by the Southeast, Southwest or Northeast, hauing so many sundry Capes to double, whereunto are required such change and shift of windes.

2. And it seemeth likely that they should come by the Northwest, because the coast whereon they were driuen, lay East from this our passage, And all windes doe naturally driue a ship to an opposite point from whence it bloweth, not being otherwise guided by Arte, which the Indians do vtterly

utterly want, & therefore it seemeth that they came directly through this our fret, which they might doe with one wind.

3. For if they had come by the Cape de buona Sperança, then must they, as aforesaid, haue fallen vpon the South parts of America.

4. And if by the fret of Magellan, then vpon the coasts of Afrike, Spaine, Portugall, France, Ireland or England.

5. And if by the Northeast, then vpon the coasts of Cere-missi, Tartarij, Lappia, Island, Terra de Labrador, &c. and vpon these coasts, as aforesaid, they haue neuer bene found.

So that by all likelihood they could neuer haue come without shipwracke vpon the coastes of Germanie, if they had first striken vpon the coastes of so many countries, wanting both Arte and shipping to make orderly discouery, and altogether ignorant both in the Arte of Nauigation, and also of the Rockes, Flats, Sands or Hauens of those parts of the world, which in most of these places are plentiful.

6. And further it seemeth very likely, that the inhabitants of the most part of those countries, by which they must haue come any other way besides by the Northwest, being for the most part Anthropophagi, or men eaters, would haue devoured them, flaine them, or, at the least wise, kept them as wonders for the gaze.

So that it plainly appeareth that those Indians which as you haue heard in fundry ages were driuen by tempest vpon the shore of Germanie, came onely through our Northwest passage.

7. Moreouer, the passage is certainly prooued by a Nauigation that a Portugall made, who passed through this fret, giving name to a Promontorie farre within the same, calling
it

it after his owne name, Promontorium Corterialis, neere adioyning vnto Polifacus fluuius.

8. Also one Scolmus a Dane entred and passed a great part thereof.

9. Also there was one Saluatterra, a Gentleman of Victoria in Spaine, that came by chance out of the West Indias into Ireland, Anno 1568, who affirmed the Northwest passage from vs to Cataia, constantly to be beleueed in America nauigable. And further said in the presence of sir Henry Sidney, then lord Deputie of Ireland, in my hearing, that a Frier of Mexico, called Andrew Vrdaneta, more then eight yeeres before his then comming into Ireland, told him there, that he came from Mar del Sur into Germany through this Northwest passage, & shewed Saluatterra, at that time being then with him in Mexico, a Sea Card made by his owne experience and trauell in that voyage, wherein was plainly set downe and described this Northwest passage, agreeing in all points with Ortelius mappe. And further, this Frier tolde the king of Portugall, as he returned by that countrey homeward, that there was of certainty such a passage Northwest from England, and that he meant to publish the same: which done, the king most earnestly desired him not in any wise to disclose or make the passage knowen to any nation: For that, said the king, if England had knowledge and experience thereof, it would greatly hinder both the king of Spaine and me, This Frier, as Saluatterra reported, was the greatest Discouerer by sea, that hath bene in our age. Also Saluatterra being perswaded of this passage by the frier Vrdaneta, and by the common opinion of the Spaniards inhabiting America, offred most willingly to accompanie me in this Discouery,
which

which of like he would not haue done if he had stood in doubt thereof.

And now as these moderne experiences cannot be impugned, so least it might be objected that these things, gathered out of ancient writers, which wrote so many yeeres past, might serue litle to prooue this passage by the North of America, because both America and India were to them then vtterly vnknownen: to remooue this doubt, let this suffice: That Aristotle, who was 300 yeeres before Christ, named Mare Indicum. Also Berofus, who liued 330 yeres before Christ, hath these words, Ganges in India. Also in the first chapter of Hester be these wordes, In the dayes of Affuerus which ruled from India to Æthiopia, which Affuerus liued 580 yeeres before Christ. Also Quintus Curtius, where he speaketh of the conquests of Alexander, mentioneth India. Also Arianus, Philostratus, and Sidrach in his discourses of the warres of the king of Bactria, and of Garaab, who had the most part of India vnder his gouernment. All which assureth vs, that both India and Indians were knownen in those dayes.

These things considered, we may, in my opinion, not only assure our selues of this passage by the Northwest, but also that it is nauigable both to come and go, as hath bene prooued in part and in all, by the experience of diuers, as Sebastian Cabota, Corterialis, the three brethren aboue named, the Indians, and Vrdaneta the Frier of Mexico, &c.

And yet notwithstanding all this, there be some that haue a better hope of this passage to Cataia by the Northeast then by the West, whose reasons with my feuerall answeres ensue in the chapter following.

CHAPTER VIII.

Certaine reasons alleaged for the proouing of a passage by the Northeast, before the Queenes Maiestie, and certaine Lords of the Counsell, by Master Anthonie Ienkinson, with my seuerall answeres then used to the same.

BECAUSE you may vnderstand as well those things alleaged against me, as what doth serue for my purpose, I haue here added the reasons of Master Anthony Ienkinson a worthy gentleman, and a great traueller, who conceiued a better hope of the passage to Cataia from vs, to be by the Northeast, then by the Northwest.

He first said that he thought not to the contrary, but that there was a passage by the Northwest according to mine opinion: but assured he was, that there might be found a nauigable passage by the Northeast from England, to goe to all the East parts of the world, which he endeououred to prooue three wayes. The first was that he heard a Fisherman of Tartaria say in hunting the Morce, that he fayled very farre towards the Southeast, finding no end of the Sea: whereby he hoped a thorow passage to be that way.

Whereunto I answered, that the Tartarians were a barbarous people, and vtterly ignorant in the Arte of Nauigation, not knowing the vse of the Sea Card, Compasse or Starre, which he confessed to be true: and therefore they could not, said I, certainly know the Southeast from the
Northeast,

Northeast, in a wide sea, and a place vnknown from the sight of the land.

Or if he failed any thing neere the shore, yet he, being ignorant, might be deceiued by the doubling of many points and Capes, and by the trending of the land, albeit he kept continually alongst the shore.

And further, it might be that the poore Fisherman through simplicitie thought that there was nothing that way but sea, because he saw no land: which prooffe, vnder correction giueth small assurance of a Nauigable sea by the Northeast, to goe round about the world. For that he iudged by the eye onely, seeing we in this our cleare aire doe account twentie miles a ken at Sea.

His second reason is, that there was an Vnicornes horne found vpon the coast of Tartaria, which could not come, said he, thither by any other meanes then with the tides, through some fret in the Northeast of Mare Glaciale, there being no Vnicorne in any part of Asia, sauing in India and Cataia: which reason, in my simple iudgement, forceth as litle.

First, it is doubtfulle whether those barbarous Tartarians do know an Vnicornes horne, yea, or no: and if it were one, yet it is not credible that the Sea could haue driuen it so farre, being of such nature that it will not swimme.

Also the tides running too and fro, would haue driuen it as farre backe with the ebbe, as it brought it forward with the flood.

There is also a beast called Asinus Indicus, whose horne most like it was, which hath but one horne like an Vnicorne in his forehead, whereof there is great plenty in all the

North parts thervnto adioyning, as in Lappia, Norvegia, Finmarke, &c. as Iacobus Zieglerus writeth in his historie of Scondia.

And as Albertus faieth, there is a fish which hath but one horne in his forehead like to an Vnicorne, and therefore it seemeth very doubtfull both from whence it came, and whether it were an Vnicornes horne, yea, or no.

His third and last reason was, that there came a continuall streame or current through Mare Glaciale, of such swiftnesse, as a Colmax told him, that if you cast any thing therein, it would presently be carried out of sight towards the West.

Whereunto I answered, that there doth the like from Mæotis Palus, by Pontus Euxinus, Sinus Bosphorus, and along the coast of Graecia, &c. As it is affirmed by Cou-tarenus, and diuers others that haue had experience of the same: and yet that Sea lieth not open to any maine Sea that way, but is maintained by freshets as by Tanais, Danubius, &c.

In like maner is this current in Mare Glaciale increased and maintained by the Dwina, the riuer Ob, &c.

Now as I haue here briefly recited the reasons alleaged, to prooue a passage to Cataia by the Northeast, with my feuerall answeres thereunto: so will I leaue it to your iudgement, to hope or dispaire of either at your pleasure.

CHAPTER IX.

How that the passage by the Northwest is more commodious for our traffique, then the other by the East, if there were any such.

FIRST, by the Northeast if your windes doe not giue you a maruelous speedie & luckie passage, you are in danger, being so neere the Pole, to be benighted almost the one halfe of the yeere, and what danger that were, to liue so long comfortlesse, voide of light, if the cold killed you not, each man of reason or vnderstanding may iudge.

2. Also Mangia, Quinzai, and the Moluccae are neerer vnto vs by the Northwest, than by the Northeast, more then two fiue parts, which is almost by the halfe.

3. Also we may haue by the West a yeerely returne, it being at all times nauigable, whereas you haue but 4. moneths in the whole yeere to goe by the Northeast: the passage being of such eleuation as it is formerly expressed, for it cannot be any neerer the South.

4. Furthermore, it cannot be finished without diuers wintrings by the way, hauing no hauens in any temperate climate to harbour in there: for it is as much as we can well faile from hence to S. Nicholas, in the trade of Mofcouia, and returne in the nauigable season of the yeere, & from S. Nicholas to Ceremissi Tartari, which stande at 80 degrees of the Septentrionall latitude, it is at the least 400 leagues,
which

which amounteth scarce to the third part of the way, to the end of your voyage by the Northeast.

5. And yet after you haue doubled this Cape, if then there might be found a nauigable Sea to carie you Southeast according to your desire, yet can you not winter conueniently, vntil you come to 60 degrees, and to take vp one degree running Southeast, you must faile 24 leagues and three foure parts, which amounteth to 495 leagues.

6. Furthermore, you may by the Northwest faile thither with all Easterly windes, and returne with any Westerly windes, whereas you must haue by the Northeast fundry windes, and those proper, according to the lying of the coast and Capes, you shalbe inforced to double, which windes are not alwaies to be had, when they are looked for: whereby your iourney should be greatly prolonged, and hardly endured so neere the Pole. As we are taught by sir Hugh Willoughbie,¹ who was frozen to death farre neerer the South.

7. Moreouer, it is very doubtfull, whether we should long inioy that trade by the Northeast, if there were any such passage that way, the commodities thereof once knowen to the Moscoute, what priuilege so euer hee hath granted, seeing pollicy with the masse of excessiue gaine, to the enriching so greatly of himselfe and all his dominions would perswade him to presume the same, hauing so great opportunitie to vtter the commodities of those countries by the Narue.

But by the Northwest, we may safely trade without danger
or

¹ Sir Hugh Willoughby and all his crew were frozen in the winter of 1554-55 at Arzina on the northern coast of Russia. His journal was recovered sev-

eral years later and appears in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, Vol. II. pp. 232-237.

or annoyance of any prince liuing, Christian or Heathen, it being out of all their trades.

8. Also the Queenes Maiesties dominions are neerer the Northwest passage then any other great princes that might passe that way, and both in their going and returne, they must of necessitie succour themselues and their ships vpon some part of the same, if any tempestuous weather should happen.

Further, no princes nauie of the world is able to incounter the Queenes Maiesties nauie, as it is at this present: and yet it should be greatly increased by the traffike insuing vpon this discouerie, for it is the long voyages that increase and maintaine great shipping.

Now it seemeth necessarie to declare what commodities would growe thereby, if all these things were, as we haue heretofore presupposed, and thought them to be: which next adioyning are briefly declared.

CHAPTER X.

What commodities would ensue, this passage once discovered.

FIRST, it were the onely way for our princes, to possesse the wealth of all the East parts, as they terme them, of the world, which is infinite: as appeareth by the experience of Alexander the great, in the time of his conquest of India, and other the East parts of the world, alleaged by Quintus Curtius, which would be a great aduancement to our countrey, a wonderfull

derfull enriching to our prince, and an vnſpeakable commoditie to all the inhabitants of Europe.

2. For through the ſhortneſſe of the voyage, we ſhould be able to ſell all maner of merchandize, brought from thence, farre better cheape then either the Portugall or Spaniard doth or may do. And further, we ſhould ſhare with the Portugall in the Eaſt, & the Spaniard in the Weſt, by trading to any part of America, thorow Mar del Sur, where they can no maner of way offend vs.

3. Alſo we might ſayle to diuers very rich countreys, both ciuill and others, out of both their iuriſdictions, trades and traffikes, where there is to be found great abundance of golde, filuer, precious ſtones, cloth of gold, filkes, all maner of ſpices, grocery wares, and other kinds of merchandize, of an ineſtimable price, which both the Spaniard and Portugall, through the length of their iournies, cannot well attaine vnto.

4. Alſo we might inhabite ſome part of thoſe countreyes, and ſettle there ſuch needy people of our countrey, which now trouble the common wealth,¹ and through want here at home are inforced to commit outrageous offences, whereby they are dayly conſumed with the gallows.

5. Moreouer, we might from all the aforeſaid places haue a yeerely returne, inhabiting for our ſtaple ſome conuenient place of America, about Sierra Neuada, or ſome other part, whereas it ſhal ſeeme beſt for the ſhortning of the voyage.

6. Beſide vttering of our countrey commodities, which the Indians, &c. much eſteeme: as appeareth in Heſter, where the

¹ This claſs of perſons in his Colony obſtacle when Gylberte attempted to at St. Johns was a great annoyance and ſet up a colonial commonwealth.

the pompe is expresse of the great king of India, Affuerus, who matched the coloured clothes, wherewith his houses and tents were apparelled, with gold and siluer, as part of his greatest treasure: not mentioning either veluets, filkes, cloth of gold, cloth of siluer, or such like, being in those countreyes most plentiful: whereby it plainly appeareth in what great estimation they would haue the clothes of this our countrey, so that there would be found a farre better vent for them by this meanes, then yet this realme euer had; and that without depending either vpon France, Spaine, Flanders, Portugall, Hamborow, Emden, or any other part of Europe.

7. Also, here we shall increase both our ships and mariners, without burthening of the state.

8. And also haue occasion to set poore mens children to learne handie craftes, and thereby to make trifles and such like, which the Indians and those people do much esteeme: by reason whereof, there should be none occasion to haue our countrey combred with loiterers, vagabonds, and such like idle persons.

All these commodities would grow by following this our discouery, without iniury done to any Christian prince, by crossing them in any of their vsed trades, whereby they might take any iust cause of offence.

Thus haue I briefly shewed you some part of the grounds of mine opinion, trusting that you will no longer iudge me fantastike in this matter: seeing I haue conceiued no vaine hope of this voyage, but am perswaded thereunto by the best Cosmographers of our age, the same being confirmed both by reason and certaine experiences.

Also this discouery hath bene diuers times heretofore by
others

others both offered, attempted, and performed. It hath bene offered by Stephan Gomes vnto Carolus the fift Emperour, in the yeere of our Lord God 1527, as Alphonso Vllua testifieth in the story of Carolus life: who would haue fet him forth in it, as the story mentioneth, if the great want of money, by reason of his long warres, had not caused him to surcease the same.

And the king of Portugall fearing least the Emperour would haue perseuered in this his enterprife, gaue him to leaue the matter vnattempted the summe of 350000 crownes; and it is to be thought that the king of Portugall would not haue giuen to the Emperour such summes of money for egges in mooneshine.

It hath bene attempted by Sebastian Cabota in the time of King Henry the seuenth, by Corterialis the Portugall, and Scolmus the Dane.

And it hath bene performed by three brethren, the Indians aforefaid, and by Vrdaneta the Frier of Mexico.

Also, diuers haue offered the like vnto the French king, who hath sent two or three times to haue discovered the same: The discoverers spending and consuming their victuals in searching the gulfes and bayes between Florida and Terra de Labrador, whereby the yce is broken to the after commers.

So that the right way may now easly be found out in short time, and that with litle ieopardie and lesse expences.

For America is discovered so farre towards the North as Cape Frio, which is at 62 degrees, and that part of Grondland next adioyning is knownen to stand but at 72 degrees, So that wee haue but 10 degrees to faile North & South, to
put

put the world out of doubt hereof: and it is likely that the king of Portugall would not haue fit out all this while, but that they are sure to possesse to themselues all that trade they now vse, and feare to deale in this discouery, least the Queenes Maiestie hauing so good opportunitie, and finding the commoditie which thereby might ensue to the common wealth, would cut them off, and enioy the whole traffique to herselfe, and thereby the Spaniards and Portugals, with their great charges, should beate the bush, and other men catch the birds: which thing they foreseeing, haue commanded that no pilot of theirs vpon paine of death, should seeke to discouer to the Northwest, or plat out in any Sea card any thorow passage that way by the Northwest.

Now, and if you will indifferently compare the hope that remaineth, to animate me to this enterprise, with those likelihoods which Columbus alleaged before Ferdinando the king of Castilia, to prooue that there were such Islands in the West Ocean, as were after by him and others discouered to the great commodity of Spaine, and all the world: you will thinke then this Northwest passage to be most worthy trauell therein.

For Columbus had none of the West Islands set forth vnto him, either in globe or card, neither yet once mentioned of any writer, Plato excepted, and the commentaries vpon the same, from 942 yeeres before Christ, vntill that day.

Moreouer, Columbus himselfe had neither seene America nor any other of the Islands about it, neither, vnderstood he of them by the report of any other that had seene them, but only comforted himselfe with this hope, that the land had

a beginning where the Sea had an ending: for as touching that which the Spaniards doe write of a Biscaine, which should haue taught him the way thither, it is thought to be imagined of them, to depriue Columbus of his honour, being none of their countrey man, but a stranger borne.

And if it were true of the Biscaine, yet did he but roue at the matter, or, at the least, gathered the knowledge of it, by coniectures onely.

And albeit myselfe haue not seene this passage nor any part thereof, but am ignorant of it as touching experience, as Columbus was before his attempt made, yet haue I both the report, relation, and authoritie of diuers most credible men, which haue both seene and passed through some and euery part of this discouery, besides sundry reasons for my assurance thereof: all which Columbus wanted.

These things considered, & indifferently weighed together, with the wonderfull commodities which this discouery may bring, especially to this realme of England: I must needs conclude with learned Baptista Ramusius, and diuers other learned men, who said, that this discouery hath bene reserved for some noble prince or worthie man, thereby to make himselfe rich, and the world happie: desiring you to accept in good part this brief and simple discourse, written in haste, which if I may perceiue that it shall not sufficiently satisfie you in this behalfe, I will then impart vnto you a large discourse, which I haue written onely of this discouery.

And further, because it sufficeth not only to know that such a thing there is, without abilitie to performe the same, I wil at leasure make you partaker of another simple discourse of nauigation, wherein I haue not a litle trauelled,

to

to make my felfe as fufficient to bring thefe things to effect, as I haue bene readie to offer my felfe therein.

And therein I haue deuifed to amend the errors of vfuall fea cards, whose common fault is to make the degrees of longitude in euery latitude of one like bigneffe.

And haue alfo deuifed therein a Spherical instrument, with a compaffe of variation for the perfect knowing of the longitude.

And a precise order to pricke the fea card, together with certaine infallible rules for the shortning of any discouery, to know at the first entring of any fret whether it lie open to the Ocean more wayes then one, how farre foeuer the fea stretcheth itself into the land.

Desiring you hereafter neuer to mislike with me, for the taking in hande of any laudable and honest enterprife: for if through pleasure or idleneffe we purchase shame, the pleasure vanisheth, but the shame remaineth for euer.

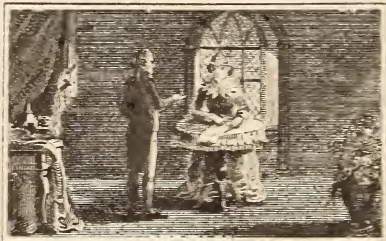
And therefore to giue me leaue without offence, alwayes to liue and die in this mind. That he is not worthy to liue at all, that for feare, or danger of death, shunneth his countreys seruice, and his owne honour: seeing death is ineuitable, and the fame of vertue immortall. Wherefore in this behalfe,
Mutare vel timere sperno.



LETTERS PATENT

TO

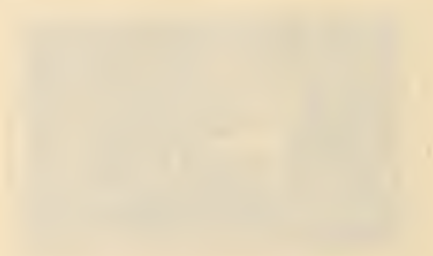
SIR HUMFREY GYLBERTE, KNIGHT



QUEEN ELIZABETH
Signs for
SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT

*The first patent granted by an
English Sovereign to lands within
The territory of the United States*

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LETTERS PATENT,

GRANTED, ON JUNE 11, 1578, BY

HER MAJESTY, QUEEN ELIZABETH,

TO

SIR HUMFREY GYLBERTE, KNIGHT,

FOR PLANTING A COLONY IN AMERICA.



ELIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of England, &c. To all people to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye that of our especiall grace, certaine science and meere motion, we haue giuen and granted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and succeffours, doe giue and graunt to our trustie and welbeloued seruauant Sir Humfrey Gilbert of Compton, in our Countie of Devonshire Knight, and to his heires and assignes for euer, free libertie and licence from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, to discouer, finde, searck out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countreys and territories not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people, as to him, his heirs & assignes, and to euery or any of them, shall seeme good:

good: and the same to haue, hold, occupie and enioy to him, his heires and assignes for euer, with all commodities, iurisdictiones, and royalties both by sea and land: and the sayd sir Humfrey and all such as from time to time by licence of vs, our heires and successours, shall goe and trauell thither, to inhabite or remaine there, to build and fortifie at the discretion of the sayde sir Humfrey, and of his heires and assignes, the statutes or actes of Parliament made against Fugitiues, or against such as shall depart, remaine or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any other acte, statute, lawe or matter whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And wee doe likewise by these presents, for vs, our heires and successours, giue full authoritie and power to the said Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and euery of them, that hee and they, and euery or any of them, shall and may at all and euery time and times hereafter, haue, take, and lead in the same voyages, to trauell thitherward, and to inhabite there with him, and euery or any of them, such and so many of our subiects as shall willingly accompany him and them, and euery or any of them, with sufficient shipping and furniture for their transportations, so that none of the same persons, nor any of them be such as hereafter shall be specially restrained by vs, our heires and successours. And further, that he the said Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them shall haue, hold, occupy & enioy to him, his heires or assignes, and euery of them for euer, all the soyle of all such lands, countries, & territories so to be discouered or possessed as aforesaid, and of all Cities, Castles, Townes and Villages, and places in the same, with the rites, royalties and iurisdictiones, as well marine as other,
within

within the sayd lands or countreys of the seas thereunto adioyning, to be had or vsed with ful power to dispose thereof, & of euery part thereof in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the laws of England, as nere as the same conueniently may be, at his, and their will & pleasure, to any person then being, or that shall remaine within the allegiance of vs, our heires and succeffours, paying vnto vs for all seruices, dueties and demaunds, the fift part of all the oare of gold and siluer, that from time to time, and at all times after such discouerie, subduing and possessing shall be there gotten: all which lands, countreys and territories, shall for euer bee holden by the sayd Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes of vs, our heires and succeffours by homage, and by the sayd payment of the sayd fift part before referued onely for all seruices.

And moreouer, we doe by these presents for vs, our heires and succeffours, giue and graunt licence to the sayde Sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes, and to euery of them, that hee and they, and euery or any of them shall, and may from time to time, and all times for euer hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter, expulse, repell and resist, as well by Sea as by land, and by all other wayes whatsoeuer, all and euery such person and persons whatsoeuer, as without the speciall licence and liking of the sayd Sir Humfrey, and of his heires and assignes, shall attempt to inhabite within the sayd countreys, or any of them, or within the space of two hundreth leagues neere to the place or places within such countreys as aforesayd, if they shall not bee before planted or inhabited within the limites aforesayd, with the subiects of any Christian prince, being in amitie

with her Maieſty, where the ſaid ſir Humfrey, his heires or aſſignes, or any of them, or his, or their, or any of their affociates or companies, ſhall within fixe yeeres next enſuing, make their dwellings and abidings, or that ſhall enterpriſe or attempt at any time hereafter vnlawfully to annoy either by Sea or land, the ſaid ſir Humfrey, his heires or aſſignes, or any of them, or his, or their, or any of their companies: giuing and graunting by theſe preſents, further power and authoritie to the ſayd ſir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, and euery of them from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter to take and ſurpriſe by all maner of meanes whatſoeuer, all and euery perſon and perſons, with their ſhippes, veſſels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the ſayd ſir Humfrey, or his heires or aſſignes as aforeſayd, ſhall bee found traffiquing into any harborough or harboroughs, creeke or creekes within the limites aforeſayde, the ſubieſts of our Realmes and dominions, and all other perſons in amitie with vs, being driuen by force of tempeſt or ſhipwracke onely excepted, and thoſe perſons and euery of them with their ſhips, veſſels, goods, and furniture, to detaine and poſſeſſe, as of good and lawfull prize, according to the diſcretion of him the ſayd ſir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, and of euery or any of them. And for vniting in more perfect league and amitie of ſuch countreys, landes and territories ſo to bee poſſeſſed and inhabited as aforeſayde, with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and for the better encouragement of men to this enterpriſe: wee doe by theſe preſents graunt, and declare, that all ſuch countreys ſo hereafter to bee poſſeſſed and inhabited as aforeſayd, from thencefoorth ſhall bee of
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the allegiance of vs, our heires, and succeffours. And wee doe graunt to the sayd fir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and to all and euery of them, and to all and euery other person and persons, being of our allegiance, whose names shall be noted or entred in some of our courts of Record, within this our Realme of England, and that with the assent of the said fir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, shall nowe in this iourney for discouerie, or in the second iourney for conquest hereafter, trauel to such lands, countries and territories as aforesaid, and to their and euery of their heires: that they and euery or any of them being either borne within our sayd Realmes of England or Ireland, or within any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the lands, countreys and territories, with such licence as aforesayd, shall and may haue, and enioy all the priuileges of free denizens and persons natieue of England, and within our allegiance: any law, custome, or vsage to the contrary notwithstanding.

And forasmuch, as vpon the finding out, discouering and inhabiting of such remote lands, countreys and territories, as aforesayd, it shall be necessarie for the safetie of all men that shall aduenture themselues in those iourneys or voiajes, to determine to liue together in Christian peace and ciuill quietnesse each with other, whereby euery one may with more pleasure and profit, enioy that whereunto they shall attaine with great paine and perill: wee for vs, our heires and succeffours are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents doe giue and graunt to the sayd fir Humfrey and his heires and assignes for euer, that he and they, and euery or any of them, shall and may from time to time, for
euer

euere hereafter within the sayd mentioned remote lands and countreys, and in the way by the Seas thither, and from thence, haue full and meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, gouerne and rule by their, and euery or any of their good discretions and pollicies, as well in causes capitall or criminall, as ciuill, both marine and other, all such our subiects and others, as shall from time to time hereafter aduenture themselues in the sayd iourneys or voyages habitatiue or possessiue, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite any such lands, countreys or territories as aforesayd, or that shall abide within two hundred leagues of any the sayd place or places, where the sayd sir Humfrey or his heires, or assignes, or any of them, or any of his, or their associats or companies, shall inhabite within fixe yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, lawes and ordinances, as shall be by him the said sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, or euery, or any of them, deuised or establisshed for the better gouernement of the said people as aforesayd: so alwayes that the sayd statutes, lawes and ordinances may be as neere as conueniently may, agreeable to the forme of the lawes & pollicy of England: and also, that they be not against the true Christian faith or religion now professed in the Church of England, nor in any wise to withdraw any of the subiects or people of those lands or places from the allegiance of vs, our heires or successours, as their immediate Soueraignes vnder God. And further we doe by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, giue and graunt full power and authority to our trustie and well-beloued counseller, sir William Cecill Knight, lord Burleigh, our high treasurer of England, and to the
lord

lord treasurer of England of vs, for the time being, and to the priuie counsell of vs, our heires and succeffours, or any foure of them for the time being, that he, they, or any foure of them, shall, and may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, vnder his or their handes or seales by vertue of these presents, authorize and licence the sayd sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them by him and themselues, or by their or any of their sufficient attorneys, deputies, officers, ministers, factors and seruants, to imbarke and transport out of our Realmes of England and Ireland, all, or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his or their associates and companies, and euery or any of them, with such other necessaries and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the said lord treasurer or foure of the priuie counsell of vs, our heires, or succeffours for the time being, as aforesayd, shall be from time to time by his or their wisdoms or discretions thought meete and conuenient for the better reliefe and supportation of him the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them, and his and their, and euery or any of their said associates and companies, any act, statute, lawe, or other thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Provided alwayes, and our will and pleasure is, and wee doe hereby declare to all Christian Kings, princes and states, that if the said sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter robbe or spoile by Sea or by land, or doe any act of vniust and vnlawfull hostilitie to any of the Subiects of vs, our heires, or succeffours, or any of the Subiects of any King, prince, ruler, gouernour or state being
then

then in perfect league and amitie with vs, our heires or succeffours: and that vpon such iniurie, or vpon iust complaint of any such prince, ruler, gouernour or state, or their subiects, wee, our heires or succeffours shall make open proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England commodious, that the said Sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any other to whom these our Letters patents may extend, shall within the terme to be limited by such proclamations, make full restitution and satisfaction of all such iniuries done, so as both we and the saide Princes, or others so complayning, may holde vs and themselues fully contended: And if the saide Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, shall not make or cause to bee made satisfaction accordingly, within such time so to be limited: that then it shall bee lawfull to vs, our heires and succeffours, to put the said Sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the said places to be discouered as is aforesaide, or any of them out of our allegiance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of protection the saide Sir Humfrey, and his heires, assignes, adherents and others so to be put out, and the said places within their habitation, possession and rule, shall be out of our protection and allegiance, and free for all princes and others to pursue with hostilitie as being not our Subiects, nor by vs any way to bee aduowed, maintained or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, dominion or allegiance any way belonging, for that expresse mention, &c. In witnesse whereof, &c. Witnesse ourselfe at Westminster the 11. day of Iune, the twentieth yeere of our raigne. Anno Dom. 1578.

Per ipsam Reginam, &c.

A NARRATIVE
OF THE EXPEDITION OF
SIR HUMFREY GYLBERTE
FOR THE PLANTING OF A
COLONY IN AMERICA.



A NARRATIVE
OF THE EXPEDITION OF
SIR HUMFREY GYLBERTE
IN 1583 FOR THE PLANTING OF A
COLONY IN AMERICA,
AS GIVEN BY CAPTAIN EDWARD HAIES, A DISTINGUISHED
MEMBER OF THE EXPEDITION.

A report of the voyage and successe thereof, attempted in the yeere of our Lord 1583 by sir Humfrey Gilbert¹ knight, with other gentlemen assisting him in that action, intended to discover and to plant Christian inhabitants in place conuenient, upon those large and ample countreys extended Northward from the cape of Florida, lying vnder very temperate Climes, esteemed fertile and rich in Minerals, yet not in the actuall possession of any Christian prince, written by M. Edward Haies gentleman, and principall

¹ In this paper by Captain Haies, the orthography of Gylberte's name is different throughout from that employed by Sir Humfrey himself. The *y* is changed to *i*, and the final *e* is dropped. At that period there was very little ex-

actnes or uniformity in the spelling of proper names. Indeed, the law governing orthography generally had not become settled. It would seem, however, but just that a man should be allowed to transmit his own name unimpaired.

principall actour in the same voyage, who alone continued vnto the end, and by Gods speciall assistance returned home with his retinue safe and entire.



ANY voyages haue bene pretended, yet hitherto neuer any thorowly accomplished by our nation of exact discouery into the bowels of those maine, ample and vast countreys, extended infinitely into the North from 30 degrees, or rather from 25 degrees of Septentrionall latitude, neither hath a right way bene taken of planting a Christian habitation and regiment vpon the same, as well may appeare both by the little we yet do actually possess therein, & by our ignorance of the riches and secrets within those lands, which vnto this day we know chiefly by the trauell and report of other nations, and most of the French, who albeit they can not challenge such right and interest vnto the sayd countreys as we, neither these many yeeres haue had opportunity nor meanes so great to discouer and to plant, being vexed with the calamities of intestine warres, as we haue had by the inestimable benefit of our long and happy peace: yet haue they both waies performed more, and had long since attained a sure possession and settled gouernment of many prouinces in those Northerly parts of America, if their many attempts into those forren and remote lands had not bene impeached by their garboils at home.

The first discouery of these coasts, neuer heard of before, was well begun by John Cabot the father, and Sebastian his sonne, an Englishman borne, who were the first finders out of all that great tract of land stretching from the cape of
Florida

Florida vnto those Islands which we now call the Newfoundland: all which they brought and annexed vnto the crowne of England. Since when, if with like diligence the search of inland countreys had bene followed, as the discouery vpon the coast and out-parts therof was performed by those two men: no doubt her Maiesties territories and reuenue had bene mightily enlarged and aduanced by this day. And which is more: the seed of Christian religion had bene sowed amongst those pagans, which by this time might haue brought forth a most plentiful harvest and copious congregation of Christians: which must be the chiefe intent of all such as shall make any attempt that way: or els whatfoeuer is builded vpon other foundation shall neuer obtaine happy successe nor continuance. And although we cannot precisely iudge, which onely belongeth to God, what haue bene the humours of men stirred vp to great attempts of discouering and planting in those remote countreys, yet the euents do shew that either Gods cause hath not bene chiefly preferred by them, or els God hath not permitted so abundant grace as the light of his word and knowledge of him to be yet reuealed vnto those infidels before the appointed time.

But most assuredly, the only cause of religion hitherto hath kept backe, and will also bring forward at the time assigned by God, an effectually and compleat discouery & possession by Christians both of those ample countreys and the riches within them hitherto concealed: whereof notwithstanding God in his wisdom hath permitted to be reuealed from time to time a certaine obscure and misty knowledge, by little and little to allure the mindes of men
that

that way, which els will be dull enough in the zeale of his cause, and thereby to prepare vs vnto a readinesse for the execution of his will against the due time ordeined, of calling those pagans vnto Christianity.

In the meane while, it behoueth euery man of great calling, in whom is any instinct of inclination vnto this attempt to examine his owne motions: which if the same proceed of ambition or auarice, he may assure himselfe it commeth not of God, and therefore can not haue confidence of Gods protection and assistance against the violence, els irresistible, both of sea, and infinite perils vpon the land: whom God yet may vse an instrument to further his cause and glory some way, but not to build vpon so bad a foundation.

Otherwise, if his motives be deriued from a vertuous & heroycall minde, preferring chiefly the honour of God, compassion of poore infidels captiued by the deuill, tyrannizing in most woonderfull and dreadfull maner ouer their bodies and soules: aduancement of his honest and well disposed countrey men, willing to accompany him in such honourable actions: reliefe of sundry people within this realme distressed: all these be honourable purposes, imitating the nature of the munificent God, wherwith he is well pleased, who will assist such an actour beyond expectation of man. And the same, who feeleth this inclination in himselfe, by all likelihood may hope, or rather confidently repose in the preordinance of God, that in this last age of the world, or likely neuer, the time is compleat of receiuing also these Gentiles into his mercy, and that God will raise him an instrument to effect the same: it seeming probable by euent
of

of precedent attempts made by the Spanyards and French fundry times that the countreys lying North of Florida, God hath referued the same to be reduced vnto Christian ciuility by the English nation. For not long after that Christopher Columbus had discovered the Islands and continent of the West Indies for Spayne, John and Sebastian Cabot made discovery also of the rest from Florida Northwards to the behoofe of England.

And whensoever afterwards the Spanyards, very prosperous in all their Southerne discoveries, did attempt anything into Florida and those regions inclining towards the North, they proued most vnhappy, and were at length discouraged vtterly by the hard and lamentable successe of many both religious and valiant in armes, endeauouring to bring those Northerly regions also vnder the Spanish iurisdiction: as if God had prescribed limits vnto the Spanish nation which they might not exceed: as by their owne gests¹ recorded may be aptly gathered.

The French, as they can pretend lesse title vnto these Northerne parts then the Spanyard, by how much the Spanyard made the first discovery of the same continent so far Northward as vnto Florida, and the French did but reuiew that before discovered by the English nation, vsurping vpon our right, and imposing names vpon countreys, riuers, bayes, capes, or headlands, as if they had bene the first finders of those coasts: which iniury we offered not vnto the Spanyards, but left off to discover when we approached the Spanish limits: euen so God hath not hitherto permitted them to establisth a possession permanent vpon anothers right, notwithstanding

¹ *Gests*, a tale of achievements, *obsolete*. Vide Webster's Dictionary.

notwithstanding their manifold attempts, in which the issue hath bene no lesse tragically then that of the Spanyards, as by their owne reports is extant.

Then seeing the English nation onely hath right vnto these countreys of America from the cape of Florida Northward by the priuilege of first discouery, vnto which Cabot was authorised by regall authority, and set forth by the expence of our late famous king Henry the seuenth: which right also seemeth strongly defended on our behalfe by the powerfull hand of almighty God, withstanding the enterprises of other nations: it may greatly encourage vs vpon so iust ground, as is our right, and vpon so sacred an intent, as to plant religion, our right and intent being meet foundations for the same, to prosecute effectually the full possession of those so ample and pleasant countreys appertaining vnto the crowne of England: the same, as is to be coniectured by infallible arguments of the worlds end approaching, being now arriued vnto the time by God prescribed of their vocation, if euer their calling vnto the knowledge of God may be expected. Which also is very probable by the reuolution and course of Gods word and religion, which from the beginning hath moued from the East, towards, & at last vnto the West, where it is like to end, vnlesse the same begin againe where it did in the East, which were to expect a like world againe. But we are assured of the contrary by the prophesie of Christ, whereby we gather, that after his word preached thorowout the world shalbe the end. And as the Gospel when it descended Westward began in the South, and afterward spread into the North of Europe: euen so, as the same hath begonne in the South Countreys of America, no lesse
hope

hope may be gathered that it will also spread into the North.

These considerations may helpe to suppress all dreads rising of hard euent in attempts made this way by other nations, as also of the heauy succeffe and issue in the late enterprise made by a worthy gentleman our countryman sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, who was the first of our nation that caried people to erect an habitation and gouernment in those Northerly countreys of America. About which, albeit he had consumed much substance, and lost his life at last, his people also perishing for the most part: yet the mystery thereof we must leaue vnto God, and iudge charitably both of the cause, which was iust in all pretence, and of the person, who was very zealous in prosecuting the same, deseruing honourable remembrance for his good minde, and expence of life in so vertuous an enterprise. Whereby neuerthelesse, least any man should be dismayed by example of other folks calamity and misdeeme that God doth resist all attempts intended that way: I thought good, so farre as myselfe was an eye witnesse, to deliuer the circumstance and maner of our proceedings in that action: in which the gentleman was so unfortunately incumbred with wants, and woorse matched with many ill-disposed people, that his rare iudgement and regiment premeditated for those affaires, was subiect to tolerate abuses, & in sundry extremities to holde on a course, more to vpholde credit, then likely in his owne conceit happily to succeede.

The issue of such actions, being alwayes miserable, not guided by God, who abhorreth confusion and disorder, hath left this for admonition being the first attempt by our
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nation to plant, vnto such as shall take the same cause in hand hereafter not to be discouraged from it: but to make men well aduised how they handle his so high and excellent matters, as the cariage is of his word into those very mighty and vast countreys. An action doubtlesse not to be intermedled with base purposes: as many haue made the same but a colour to shadow actions otherwise scarce iustificable: which doth excite Gods heauy iudgements in the end, to the terrifying of weake mindes from the cause, without pondering his iust proceedings: and doth also incense forren princes against our attempts how iust foeuer, who cannot but deeme the sequele very dangerous vnto their state, if in those parts we should grow to strength, seeing the very beginnings are entred with spoile.

And with this admonition denounced vpon zeale towards Gods cause, also towards those in whom appeareth disposition honourable vnto this action of planting Christian people and religion in those remote and barbarous nations of America, vnto whom I wish all happinesse; I will now proceed to make relation briefly, yet particularly, of our voyage vndertaken with sir Humfrey Gilbert, begun, continued, and ended aduerfly.

When first Sir Humfrey Gilbert vndertooke the Western discovery of America, and had procured from her Maiesty a very large commission to inhabit & possesse at his choice all remote and heathen lands not in the actuall possession of any Christian prince, the same commission exemplified with many priuileges, such as in his discretion he might demand, very many gentlemen of good estimation drew vnto him, to associate him in so commendable an enterprise, so that the
preparation

preparation was expected to grow vnto a puissant fleet, able to encounter a kings power by sea: neuerthelesse, amongst a multitude of voluntary men, their dispositions were diuers, which bred a iarre, and made a diuision in the end, to the confusion of that attempt euen before the same was begun. And when the shipping was in the maner prepared, & men ready vpon the coast to go aboard: at that time some brake confort, and followed courses degenerating from the voyage before pretended: Others failed of their promises contracted, and the greater number were dispersed, leauing the Generall with few of his assured friends, with whom he aduentured to sea: where hauing tasted of no lesse misfortune, he was shortly driuen to retire home with the losse of a tall ship, and more to his grieve, of a valiant gentleman Miles Morgan.

Hauing buried onely in preparation a great masse of substance, wherby his estate was impaired, his minde yet not dismaid, he continued his former designment & purpose to reuiue this enterprise, good occasion seruing. Vpon which determination standing long, without meanes to satisfy his desire: at last he granted certaine assignments out of his cōmission to fundry persons of meane ability, desiring the priuilege of his grant, to plant & fortifie in the North parts of America about the riuer of Canada, to whō if God gaue good succeffe in the North parts, where then no matter of moment was expected, the same he thought would greatly aduance the hope of the South, & be a furtherance vnto his determination that way. And the worst that might happen in that course might be excused without preiudice vnto him by the former supposition, that those North regions were of no regard: but chiefly a possession taken in any parcell of those

those heathen countreys, by vertue of his grant, did inuest him of territories extending euery way two hundred leagues: which induced sir Humfrey Gylberte to make those assignments, desiring greatly their expedition, because his commission did expire after six yeres, if in that space he had not gotten actuall possession.

Time went away without anything done by his assignes: infomuch that at last he must resolue himselfe to take a voyage in person, for more assurance to keepe his patent in force, which then almost was expired, or within two yeres.

In furtherance of his determination, amongst others, sir George Peckam knight shewed himselfe very zealous to the action, greatly aiding him both by his aduice & in the charge. Other gentlemen to their ability ioyned vnto him, resoluing to aduenture their substance & liues in the same cause. Who beginning their preparation from that time, both of shipping, munition, victual, men, and things requisit, some of them cōtinued the charge two yeeres compleat without intermission. Such were the difficulties and crosse accidents opposing these proceedings, which tooke not end in lesse than two yeres: many of which circumstances I will omit.

The last place of our assembly, before we left the coast of England, was in Caufet bay neere vnto Plimmouth: then resolued to put vnto the sea with shipping and prouision, such as we had, before our store yet remaining, but chiefly the time and season of the yeere, were too farre spent. Neuerthelesse it seemed first very doubtfull by what way to shape our course, and to begin our intended discouery, either from the South Northward, or from the North Southward.

The first, that is, beginning South, without all controuersie
was

was the likeliest, wherein we were assured to haue commodity of the current, which from the cape of Florida setteth Northward, and would haue furthered greatly our nauigation, discovering from the foresayd cape along towards cape Briton, and all those lands lying to the North.

Also, the yere being farre spent, and arriued to the moneth of June, we were not to spend time in Northerly courses, where we should be surprised with timely Winter, but to couet the South, which we had space enough then to haue attained; and there might with lesse detriment haue wintred that season, being more milde and short in the South then in the North where winter is both long and rigorous.

These and other like reasons alleged in fauour of the Southerne course first to be taken, to the contrary was inferred: that forasmuch as both our victuals, and many other needful prouisions were diminished and left insufficient for so long a voyage, and for the wintering of so many men, we ought to shape a course most likely to minister supply; and that was to take the Newfoundland in our way, which was but feuen hundred leagues from our English coast. Where being vsually at that time of the yere, and vntill the fieu of August, a multitude of ships repairing thither for fish, we should be relieued abundantly with many necessaries, which after the fishing ended, they might well spare, and freely impart vnto vs.

Not staying long vpon that Newland coast, we might proceed Southward, and follow still the Sunne, vntill we arriued at places more temperate to our content.

By which reasons we were the rather induced to follow this Northerly course, obeying vnto necessity, which must
be

be supplied. Otherwise, we doubted that suddē approach of Winter, bringing with it continuall fogge, and thicke mists, tempest and rage of weather; also contrariety of currents descending from the cape of Florida vnto cape Briton and cape Rafe, would fall out to be great and irresistible impediments vnto our further proceeding for that yeere, and compell vs to Winter in those North and colde regions.

Wherefore suppressing all obiections to the contrary, we resolved to begin our course Northward, and to follow directly as we might, the trade way vnto Newfoundland: from whence after our refreshing and reparation of wants, we intended without delay, by Gods permission, to proceed into the South, not omitting any riuer or bay which in all that large tract of land appeared to our view worthy of search. Immediately we agreed vpon the maner of our course and orders to be obserued in our voyage: which were deliuered in writing vnto the capitaines and masters of euery ship a copy in maner following:—

Euery shippe had deliuered two bullets or scrowles, the one sealed vp in waxe, the other left open: in both which were included seuerall watch-words. That open, seruing upon our owne coast or the coast of Ireland: the other sealed was promised on all hands not to be broken vp vntill we should be cleere of the Irish coast; which from thencefoorth did serue vntill we arriued and met altogether in such harbors of the Newfoundland as were agreed for our Rendez vous. The sayd watch-words being requisite to know our consorts whensoever by night, either by fortune of weather, our fleet disperfed should come together againe;
or

or one should hale another; or if by ill watch and steerage one ship should chance to fall aboard of another in the darke.

The reason of the bullet sealed was to keepe secret that watch-word while we were vpon our owne coaft, lest any of the company stealing from the fleet might bewray the same: which knowen to an enemy, he might boord us by night without mistrust, hauing our owne watch-word.

Orders agreed vpon by the Captaines and Masters to be obserued by the fleet of Sir Humfrey Gilbert.

First, the Admirall to cary his flag by day, and his light by night.

2 Item, if the Admirall shall shorten his faile by night, then to shew two lights vntill he be answered againe by euery ship shewing one light for a short time.

3 Item, if the Admirall after his shortening of faile, as aforesayd, shall make more faile againe: then he to shew three lights one aboue another.

4 Item, if the Admirall shall happen to hull in the night, then to make a wauering light ouer his other light, wauering the light vpon a pole.

5 Item, if the fleet should happen to be scattered, weather or other mishap, then so soone as one shall descry another to hoise both toppe failes twise, if the weather will serue, and to strike them twise againe: but if the weather serue not, then to hoise the maine top faile twise, and forthwith to strike it twise againe.

6 Item, if it shall happen a great fogge to fall, then presently euery shippe to beare vp with the admirall, if there be winde: but if it be a calme, then euery ship to hull, and so
to

to lie at hull till it be cleere. And if the fogge do continue long, then the Admirall to shoot off two pieces euery euening, and euery ship to answere it with one shot: and euery man bearing to the ship, that is to leeward so neere as he may.

7 Item, euery master to giue charge vnto the watch to looke out well, for laying aboard one of another in the night, and in fogges.

8 Item, euery euening euery ship to hail the admirall, and so to fall afterne him failing thorow the Ocean: and being on the coast, euery ship to haile him both morning and euening.

9 Item, if any ship be in danger any way, by leake or otherwise, then she to shoot off a piece, and presently to hang out one light, whereupon euery man to beare towards her, answering her with one light for a short time, and so to put it out againe: thereby to giue knowledge that they haue seene her token.

10 Item, whensoever the Admirall shall hang out her ensigne in the maine shrouds, then euery man to come aboard her, as a token of counsell.

11 Item, if there happen any storme or contrary winde to the fleet after the discouery, whereby they are separated: then euery ship to repaire vnto their last good port, there to meet againe.

Our course agreed vpon.

The course first to be taken for the discouery is to beare directly to Cape Rase, the most Southerly cape of Newfoundland; and there to harbour ourselues either in Rogneux or Fermous, being the first places appointed for
our

our Rendez vous, and the next harbours vnto the Northward of cape Rafe: and therefore euery ship separated from the fleete to repaire to that place so fast as God shall permit, whether you shall fall to the Southward or to the Northward of it, and there to stay for the meeting of the whole fleet the space of ten dayes: and when you shall depart, to leaue marks.

A direction of our course vnto the Newfound land.

Beginning our course from Gilley, the neereſt is by Weſtſouthweſt if the winde ſerue vntill ſuch time as we haue brought ourſelues in the latitude of 43 or 44 degrees, becauſe the Ocean is ſubiect much to Southerly windeſ in June and July. Then to take trauerſe from 45 to 47 degrees of latitude, if we be inforced by contrary windeſ: and not to go to the Northward of the height of 47 degrees of Septentrionall latitude by no meanes; if God ſhall not inforce the contrary: but to do your indeauour to keepe in the height of 46 degrees, ſo nere as you can poſſibly, becauſe cape Rafe lieth about that height.

NOTES.— If by contrary windeſ we be driuen backe vpon the coaſt of England, then to repaire vnto Silley for a place of our aſſembly or meeting.

If we be driuen back by contrary windeſ that we can not paſſe the coaſt of Ireland, then the place of our aſſembly to be at the Beare hauen, or Baltimore hauen.

If we ſhall not happen to meete at cape Rafe, then the place of Rendez vous to be at cape Briton, or the neereſt harbour vnto the Weſtward of cape Briton.

If

If by meanes of other shipping we may not safely stay there, then to rest at the very next safe port to the Westward: every ship leauing their marks behinde them for the more certainty of the after commers to knowe where to finde them.

The marks that euery man ought to leaue in such a case, were of the Generals priuate deuice written by himselfe, sealed also in close waxe, and deliuered vnto euery shippe one scroule, which was not to be opened vntill occasion required, whereby euery man was certified what to leaue for instruction of after commers: that euery of vs comming into any harbour or riuer might know who had bene there; or whether any were still there vp higher into the riuer, or departed, and which way.

Orders thus determined, and promises mutually giuen to be obserued, euery man withdrew himselfe vnto his charge, the ankers being already weyed, and our shippes vnder saile, hauing a soft gale of winde, we began our voyage vpon Tueday the eleuenth day of June, in the yere of our Lord 1583, hauing in our fleet at our departure from Caufet bay these shippes, whose names and burthens, with the names of the captaines and masters of them, I haue also inserted, as followeth:

1. The *Delight* alias The George, of burthen 120 tunnes, was Admirall: in which went the Generall, and William Winter captaine in her and part owner, and Richard Clearke master.

2. The *Barke Raleigh* set forth by M. Walter Raleigh, of the burthen of 200 tunnes, was then Vice-admirall: in which went M. Butler captaine, and Robert Daus of Bristoll master.

3. The

3. The *Golden hinde*, of burthen 40 tunnes, was then Reare-admirall: in which went Edward Haies capitaine and owner, and William Cox of Limehouse master.

4. The *Swallow*, of burthen 40 tunnes: in her was capitaine Maurice Browne.

5. The *Squirrill*, of burthen 10 tunnes: in which went captain William Andrewes, and one Cade master.

We were in number in all about 260 men: among whom we had of euery faculty good choice, as Shipwrights, Masons, Carpenters, Smithes, and such like, requisite to such an action: also Minerall men and Refiners. Besides, for solace of our people, and allurement of the Sauages, we were provided of Musike in good variety: not omitting the least toyes, as Morris dancers, Hobby horffe, and Maylike conceits to delight the Sauage people, whom we intended to winne by all faire meanes possible. And to that end we were indifferently furnished of all petty haberdasherie wares to barter with those simple people.

In this maner we fet forward, departing as hath bene said out of Causet bay the eleuenth day of June being Tuesday, the weather and winde faire and good all day, but a great storme of thunder and winde fell the same night.

Thursday following, when we hailed one another in the euening according to the order before specified they signified vnto vs out of the Vizadmirall, that both the Capitaine, and very many of the men were fallen sicke. And about midnight the Vizeadmirall forfooke vs, notwithstanding we had the winde East, faire and good. But it was after credibly reported, that they were infected with a contagious sicknesse, and arriued greatly distressed at Plimmoth: the reason I

could neuer vnderstand, Sure I am, no cost was spared by their owner Master Raleigh in setting them forth: Therefore I leaue it vnto God.

By this time we were in 48 degrees of latitude, not a little grieved with the losse of the most puissant ship in our fleete: after whose departure, the Golden Hind succeeded in the place of Vizadmirall, and remooued her flagge from the mizon vnto the foretop.

From Saturday the 15 of June vntill the 28, which was vpon a Friday, we neuer had faire day without fogge or raine, and windes bad, much to the West northwest, whereby we were driuen Southward vnto 41 degrees scarfe.

About this time of the yere the winds are commonly West towards the Newfound land, keeping ordinarily within two points of West to the South or to the North, whereby the course thither falleth out to be long and tedious after June, which in March, Apriell & May, hath bene performed out of England in 22 days and lesse. We had winde alwayes so fcant from West northwest, and from West southwest againe, that our trauerse was great, running South vnto 41 degrees almost, and afterward North into 51 degrees.

Also we were incombred with much fogge and mists in maner palpable, in which we could not keepe so well together, but were disseuered, losing the companie of the Swallow and the Squirrell vpon the 20 day of July, whom we met againe at feuerall places vpon the Newfound land coast the third of August, as shalbe declared in place conuenient.

Saturday, the 27 of July, we might descry not farre from vs as it were mountaines of yce, driuen vpon the sea, being
then

then in 50 degrees, which were caried Southward to the weather of vs; whereby may be coniectured that some current doth set that way from the North.

Before we came to Newfound land about 50 leagues on this side, we passe the banke, which are high grounds rising within the sea and vnder water, yet deepe enough and without danger, being commonly not lesse than 20 and 30 fadome water vpon them: the same, as it were some vaine of mountaines within the sea, doe runne along, and from the Newfound land, beginning Northward about 52 or 53 degrees of latitude, & do extend into the South infinitely. The bredth of this banke is somewhere more, and somewhere lesse: but we found the same about 10 leagues ouer, hauing founded both on this side thereof, and the other toward Newfound land, but found no ground with almost 200 fadome of line, both before & after we had passed the banke. The Portugals, and French chiefly, haue a notable trade of fishing vpon this banke, where are sometimes an hundred or more sailes of ships: who commonly beginne the fishing in Apriell, and haue ended by July. That fish is large, alwayes wet hauing no land neere to drie, and is called Corre fish.

During the time of fishing, a man shall know without sounding when he is vpon the banke, by the incredible multitude of sea foule houering ouer the same, to pray vpon the offalles & garbish of fish throwen out by fishermen, and floting vpon the sea.

Vpon Tuesday the 11 of June, we forsooke the coast of England. So againe Tuesday the 30 of July, seuen weekes after, we got sight of land, being immediately embayed in
the

the Grand bay, or some other great bay: the certainty whereof we could not iudge, so great hase and fogge did hang vpon the coast, as neither we might discern the land well, nor take the sunnes height. But by our best computation we were then in the 51 degrees of latitude. Forfaking this bay and vncomfortable coast, nothing appearing vnto vs but hideous rockes and mountaines, bare of trees, and voide of any greene herbe, we followed the coast to the South, with weather faire and cleare.

We had sight of an Iland named Penguin,¹ of a foule there breeding in abundance, almost incredible, which cannot flie, their wings not able to carry their body, being very large, not much lesse than a goose, and exceeding fat: which the French men vse to take without difficulty vpon that Iland, and to barrell them vp with falt. But for lingering of time, we had made vs there the like provision.

Trending this coast, we came to the Iland called Bacca-laos, being not past two leagues from the maine: to the South thereof lieth Cape S. Francis, 5. leagues distant from Baccalaos, between which goeth in a great bay, by the vulgar fort called the bay of Conception. Here we met with the Swallow againe, whom we had lost in the fogge, and all her men altered into other apparell: whereof it seemed their store was so amended, that for ioy and congratulation of our meeting, they spared not to cast vp into the aire and ouerboord, their caps & hats in good plenty. The Captaine albeit himselfe was very honest and religious, yet was he not appointed of men to his humor and desert: who for the most part were such as had bene by vs surprised
vpon

¹ The Great Auk, *Alca impennis*, now nearly, if not entirely, extinct.

vpon the narrow seas of England, being pirats and had taken at that instant certaine Frenchmen laden, one barke with wines, and another with salt. Both which we rescued, & tooke the man of warre with all her men, which was the same ship now called the Swallow, following still their kind so oft, as being separated from the Generall they found opportunities to robbe and spoile. And because Gods iustice did follow the same company, euen to distruction, and to the ouerthrow also of the Captaine, although not consenting to their misdemeanor, I will not conceale anything that maketh to the manifestation and approbation of his iudgements, for example of others, perswaded that God more sharply tooke reuenge vpon them, and hath tolerated longer as great outrage in others: by how much these went vnder protection of his cause and religion, which was then pretended.

Therefore vpon further enquiry it was knowen, how this cōpany met with a barke returning home after the fishing with his freight: and because the men in the Swallow were very neere scanted of victuall, and chiefly of apparell, doubtful with all where or when to find and meete with their Admiral, they besought the captaine they might go aboard this Newlander, only to borrow what might be spared, the rather because the same was bound homeward. Leauinguen, not without charge to deale fauourably, they came aboard the fisherman, whō they rifled of tackle, sailes, cables, victuals, & the men of their apparell: not sparing by torture, winding cords about their heads, to draw out else what they thought good. This done with expedition, like men skilfull in such mischiefe, as they tooke their cocke
boate

boate to go aboard their own ship, it was ouerwhelmed in the sea, and certaine of these men there drowned: the rest were preferued euen by those filly foules whom they had before spoyled, who saued and deliuered them aboard the Swallow. What became afterward of the poore Newlander, perhaps destitute of sayles and furniture sufficient to carry them home, whither they had not lesse to runne then 700 leagues, God alone knoweth, who tooke vengeance not long after of the rest that escaped at this instant: to reueale the fact, and iustifie to the world Gods iudgements inflicted vpon them, as shalbe declared in place conuenient.

Thus after we had met with the Swallow, we held on our course Southward, vntil we came against the harbor called S. John, about 5 leagues from the former Cape of S. Francis: where before the entrance into the harbor, we found also the Frigate or Squirrill lying at anker. Whom the English marchants, that were & alwaies be Admirals by turnes interchangeably ouer the fleetes of fishermen within the same harbor, would not permit to enter into the harbor. Glad of so happy meeting both of the Swallow and Frigate in one day, being Saturday the 3. of August we made readie our fights,¹ & prepared to enter the harbor, any resistance to the contrarie notwithstanding, there being within of all nations, to the number of 36 sailes. But first the Generall dispatched a boat to giue them knowledge of his comming for no ill intent, hauing Commiission from her Maiestie for his voiage he had in hand. And immediatly we followed with a slacke gale, and in the very entrance, which is but narrow, not aboue 2 butts length, the Admirall fell vpon a rocke on the

¹ A screen for combatants on ships.

the larboord side by great ouerfight, in that the weather was faire, the rocke much aboue water fast by the shore, where neither went any sea gate. But we found such readinesse in the English Marchants to helpe vs in that danger, that without delay there were brought a number of boates, which towed off the ship, and cleared her of danger.

Hauing taken place conuenient in the road, we let fall ankers, the Captaines and Masters repairing aboard our Admirall: whither also came immediatly the Masters and owners of the fishing fleete of Englishmen, to vnderstand the Generals intent and cause of our arriual there. They were all satisfied when the General had shewed his commission and purpose to take possession of those lands to the behalfe of the crowne of England, and the aduancement of Christian religion in those Paganish regions, requiring but their lawfull ayde for repayinge of his fleete, and supply of some necessaries, so farre as conueniently might be afforded him, both out of that and other habors adioyning. In lieu whereof, he made offer to gratifie them, with any fauour or priuiledge, which vpon their better aduise they should demand, the like being not to bee obteyned hereafter for greater price. So crauing expedition of his demand, minding to proceede further South without long detention in those partes, he dismissed them, after promise giuen of their best indeuour to satisfie speedily his so reasonable request. The marchants with their Masters departed, they caused forthwith to be discharged all the great Ordinance of their fleete in token of our welcome.

It was further determined that euery ship of our fleete should deliuer vnto the marchants and Masters of that harbour

bour a note of all their wants: which done, the ships aswell English as strangers, were taxed at an easie rate to make supply. And besides, Commissioners were appointed, part of our owne companie and part of theirs, to go into other harbours adioyning, for our English marchants command all there, to leaue of our prouision: whereunto the Portugals aboute other nations did most willingly and liberally contribute. Infomuch as we were presented aboute our allowance with wines, marmalads, most fine ruske or bisket, sweet oyles and fundry delicacies. Also we wanted not of fresh salmons, trouts, lobsters and other fresh fish brought daily vnto vs. Moreouer as the maner is in their fishing, euery weeke to choose their Admirall a new, or rather they succede in orderly course, and haue weekly their Admirals feast solemnized: euen so the General, Captaines and masters of our fleete were continually inuited and feasted. To grow short, in our abundance at home, the intertainment had bene delightfull, but after our wants and tedious passage through the Ocean, it seemed more acceptable and of greater contentation, by how much the same was vnexpected in that desolate corner of the world; where at other times of the yeare, wilde beafts and birds haue only the fruition of all those countries, which now seemed a place very populous, and much frequented.

The next morning being Sunday and the 4 of August, the Generall and his company were brought on land by English marchants, who shewed vnto vs their accustomed walks vnto a place they call the Garden. But nothing appeared more then Nature it selfe without art: who confusedly hath brought forth roses abundantly, wilde, but odoriferous, and to sense
very

very comfortable. Also the like plentie of raspis berries, which doe grow in euey place.

Munday following August 4, the Generall had his tent set vp, who being accompanied with his own followers, sommoned the marchants and masters, both English and strangers to be present at his taking possession of those Countries. Before whom openly was read & interpreted vnto the strangers his Commission: by vertue whereof he tooke possession in the same harbour of S. John, and 200 leagues euery way, inuested the Queenes Maiestie with the title and dignitie thereof, had deliuered vnto him, after the custome of England a rod and a turffe of the same soile, entring possession also for him, his heires and assignes for euer: And signified vnto al men, that from that time forward, they should take the same land as a territorie appertaining to the Queene of England, and himselfe authorised vnder her Maiestie to possesse and enioy it. And to ordaine lawes for the gouernement thereof, agreeable, so neere as conueniently might be, vnto the lawes of England: vnder which all people coming thither hereafter either to inhabite, or by way of traffique, should be subiected and gouerned, And especially at the same time for a beginning, he proposed & deliuered three lawes to be in force immediatly. That is to say:

The first, for Religion, which in publike exercise should be according to the Church of England.

The 2. for maintenance of her Maiesties right and possession of those territories, against which if anything were attempted preiudiciall the partie or parties offending should be adiudged and executed as in case of high treason, according to the lawes of England.

The 3. if any person should vtter words founding to the dishonour of her Maiestie, he should loofe his eares, and haue his ship and goods confiscate.

These contents published, obedience was promised by generall voyce and consent of the multitude aswell of Englishmen as strangers, praying for continuance of this possession and gouernement begun. After this, the assembly was dismissed. And afterward were erected not farre from that place the Armes of England ingrauen in lead, infixed vpon a pillar of wood. Yet further and actually to establish this possession taken in the right of her Maiestie, and to the behoofe of Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, his heires and assignes for euer: the Generall granted in fee farme diuers parcels of land lying by the water-side, both in this harbour of S. John, and elsewhere, which was to the owners a great commoditie, being thereby assured (by their proper inheritance) of grounds conuenient to dresse and to drie their fish, whereof, many times before they did faile, being preuented by them that came first into the harbor. For which grounds they did couenant to pay a certaine rent and seruice vnto sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes for euer, and yeerely to maintaine possession of the same, by themselves or their assignes.

Now remained only to take in prouision granted, according as euery shippe was taxed, which did fish vpon the coast adioyning. In the meane while, the Generall appointed men vnto their charge: some to repaire and trim the ships, others to attend in gathering together our supply and prouisions: others to search the commodities and singularities of the countrey, to be found by sea or land, and to make relation vnto the
Generall

Generall what eyther themfelues could knowe by their own trauaile and experience, or by good intelligence of English men or strangers, who had longest frequented the same coast. Also some obserued the eleuation of the pole, and drewe plates of the countrey exactly graded. And by that I could gather by each mans seuerall relation, I haue drawen a briefe description of the Newfound land, with the commodities by sea or lande already made, and such also as are in possibilitie and great likelihood to be made: Neuerthelesse the Cardes and plats that were drawing, with the due gradation of the harbors, bayes, and capes, did perish with the Admirall: wherefore in the description following, I must omit the particulars of such things.

*A briefe relation of the Newfound lande, and the
commodities thereof.*

That which we doe call the Newfound land, and the Frenchmen Bacalaos, is an Iland, or rather, after the opinion of some, it consisteth of fundry Ilands and broken lands, situate in the North regions of America, vpon the gulfe and entrance of the great riuer called S. Laurence in Canada. Into the which, nauigation may be made both on the South and North side of this Iland. The land lyeth South and North, containing in length betweene three & 400 miles, accounting from cape Race, which is in 46 degrees, 25 minuts vnto the Grand bay in 52 degrees of Septentrionall latitude. The Iland round about hath very many goodly bayes and harbors, safe roads for ships, the like not to be found in any part of the knowen world.

The

The common opinion that is had of intemperature & extreme cold that should be in this countrey, as of some part it may be verified, namely the North, where I grant it is more colde then in countries of Europe, which are vnder the same eleuation: euen so it cannot stand with reason and nature of the clime, that the South parts should be so intemperate as the brute hath gone. For as the same doe lie vnder the climats of Briton, Anion, Poictou in France, betweene 46 and 49 degrees, so can they not so much differ from the temperature of those countries: vnlesse vpon the outcoast lying open vnto the Ocean and sharpe windes, it must in deede be subiect to more colde, then further within the land, where the mountaines are interposed, as walles and bulwarkes, to defend and to resist the asperitie and rigor of the sea and weather. Some hold opinion, that the Newfound land might be the more subiect to cold, by how much it lyeth high and neere vnto the middle region. I grant that not in Newfound land alone, but in Germany, Italy and Afrike, euen vnder the Equinoctiall line, the mountaines are extreme cold, and seeldome vncouered of snow, in their culme and highest tops, which commeth to passe by the same reason that they are extended towards the middle region: yet in the countries lying beneth them, it is found quite contrary. Euen so all hils hauing their difcents, the valleis also and low grounds must be likewise hot or temperate, as the clime doeth giue in Newfound land: though I am of opinion that the Sunnes reflection is much cooled, and cannot be so forcible in the Newfound land, nor generally throughout America, as in Europe or Afrike: by how much the Sunne in his diurnal course from
East

East to West, passeth ouer, for the most part, dry land and sandy countries, before he arriueth at the West of Europe or Afrike, whereby his motion increaseth heat, with little or no qualification by moyst vapours. Where, on the contrary he passeth from Europe and Afrike vnto America ouer the Ocean, from whence it draweth and carieth with him abundance of moyst vapours, which doe qualifie and infeeble greatly the Sunnes reuerberation vpon this countrey chiefly of Newfound land, being so much to the Northward. Neuerthelesse, as I sayd before, the cold cannot be so intolerable vnder the latitude of 46 47 and 48, especiall within land, that it should be vninhabitable, as some doe suppose, seeing also there are very many people more to the North by a great deale. And in these South parts there be certaine beastes, Ounces or Leopards, and birdes in like maner which in the Sommer we haue seene, not heard of in countries of extreme and vehement coldnesse. Besides, as in the monethes of June, July, August and September, the heate is somewhat more then in England at those seasons: so men remaining vpon the south parts neere vnto cape Rece, vntill after Hollandtide, haue not found the cold so extreme, nor much differing from the temperature of England. Those which haue arriued there after Nouember and December, haue found the snow exceeding deepe, whereat no maruaile, considering the ground vpon the coast is rough and vneuen, and the snow is driuen into the places most declyning as the like is to be seene with vs. The like depth of snow happily shall not be found within land vpon the playner countries, which also are defended by the mountaines, breaking off the violence of winds and weather.

But

But admitting extraordinary cold in those South parts, above that with vs here: it can not be so great as in Sweedland, much lesse in Moscouia or Ruffia: yet are the same countries very populous, and the rigor of cold is dispensed with by the commoditie of Stoues, warme clothing, meats and drinckes: all which neede not to be wanting in the Newfound land, if we had intent there to inhabite.

In the South parts we found no inhabitants, which by all likelihood haue abandoned those coastes, the same being so much frequented by Christians: But in the North are sauages altogether harmelesse. Touching the commodities of this countrie, seruing either for sustentation of inhabitants, or for maintenance of traffique, there are & may be made diuers: so y^t it seemeth Nature hath recompenced that only defect and incommoditie of some sharpe cold, by many benefits: viz. With incredible quantitie, and no lesse varietie of kindes of fish in the sea and fresh waters, as Trouts, Salmones and other fish to vs vnknownen: Also Cod, which alone draweth many nations thither, and is become the most famous fishing of the world. Abundance of Whales, for which also is a very great trade in the bayes of Placentia & the Grand bay, where is made Traine oiles of the Whale: Herring the largest that haue bene heard of, and exceeding the Malstrond herring of Norway: but hitherto was neuer benefit taken of the herring fishing. There are fundry other fish very delicate, namely the Bonito, Lobsters, Turbut, with others infinite not sought after: Oysters hauing pearle but not orient in colour: I tooke it by reason they were not gathered in season.

Concerning the inland commodities, aswel to be drawn
from

from this land, as from the exceeding large countries adioyning: there is nothing which our East and Northerly countries of Europe doe yeelde, but the like also may be made in them as plentifully by time and industrie: Namely, rosen, pitch, tarre, sopeashes, dealboord, mastes for ships, hides, furre, flaxe, hempe, corne, cables, cordage, linnen-cloth, mettals and many more. All which the countries will aford, and the soyle is apt to yeelde.

The trees for the most in those South parts, are Firretrees, Pine and Cypresse, all yeelding Gumme and Turpentine.

Cherrie trees bearing fruit no bigger than a small pease. Also peare trees, but fruitlesse. Other trees of some sorts to vs vnknownen.

The soyle along the coast is not deepe of earth, bringing forth abundantly peason small, yet good feeding for cattel. Roses passing sweet, like vnto our muske roses in forme, raspases, a berry which we call Hurts, good and holefome to eat. The grasse and herbe doth fat sheepe in very short space, proued by English marchants which haue caried sheepe thither for fresh victuall and had them raised exceeding fat in lesse then three weekes. Peason which our countrey men haue sown in the time of May, haue come vp faire, and bene gathered in the beginning of August, of which our Generall had a present acceptable for the rarenesse, being the first fruits comming vp by art and industrie in that desolate and dishabited land.

Lakes or pooles of fresh water, both on the tops of mountaines and in the vallies. In which are said to be muskles not vnlike to haue pearle, which I had put in triall, if by
mischance

misfchance falling vnto me, I had not bene letted from that and other good experiments I was minded to make.

Foule both of water and land in great plentie and diuerfitie. All kind of green foule: Others as bigge as Bustards, yet not the same. A great white foule called of some a Gaunt.

Vpon the land diuers forts of haukes, as faulcons, and others by report: Partridges most plentiful larger then ours, gray and white of colour, and rough footed like doues, which our men after one flight did kill with cudgels, they were so fat and vnable to flie. Birds some like blackbirds, linnets, Canary birds, and other very small. Beasts of sundry kindes, red deare, buffles or a beast, as it seemeth by the tract & foote very large in maner of an oxe. Beares, ounces or leopards, some greater & some lesser, wolues, foxes, which to the Northward a little further are black, whose furre is esteemed in some Countries of Europe very rich. Otters, beuers, marternes: And in the opinion of most men that saw it, the Generall had brought vnto him a Sable aliue, which he sent vnto his brother sir John Gilbert knight of Deuonshire: but it was neuer deliuered, as after I vnderstood. We could not obserue the hundredth part of creatures in those vnhabited lands: but these mentioned may induce vs to glorifie the magnificent God, who hath superabundantly replenished the earth with creatures seruing for the vse of man, though man hath not vsed a fifth part of the same, which the more doth aggrauate the fault and foolish slouth in many of our nation, chusing rather to liue indirectly, and very miserably to liue & die

die within this realme pestered with inhabitants, then to aduenture as becommeth men, to obtaine an habitation in those remote lands, in which Nature very prodigally doth minister vnto mens endeouours and for art to worke vpon.

For besides these alreadie recounted and infinite moe, the mountaines generally make shew of minerall substance: Iron very common, lead, and somewhere copper. I will not auerre of richer mettals: albeit by the circumstances following, more then hope may be conceiued thereof.

For amongst other charges giuen to inquire out the singularities of this countrey, the Generall was most curious in the search of mettals, commanding the minerall man and refiner, especially to be diligent. The same was a Saxon borne, honest and religious, named Daniel. Who after search brought at first some sort of Ore, seeming rather to be yron then other mettall. The next time he found Ore, which with no small shew of contentment he deliuered vnto the General vsing protestation, that if siluer were the thing which might satisfie the Generall & his followers, there it was, aduising him to seeke no further: the perill whereof he vndertooke vpon his life, as deare vnto him as the Crowne of England vnto her Maiestie, that I may vse his owne words, if it fell not out accordingly.

My selfe at this instant liker to die then to liue, by a mischance, could not follow this confident opinion of our refiner to my owne satisfaction: but afterward demanding our Generals opinion therein, and to haue some part of the Ore, he replied: Content your selfe, I haue seene ynough, and were it but to satisfie my priuate humor, I would pro-

ceede no further. The promise vnto my friends, and needfitie to bring also the South countries within compasse of my Patent neere expired, as we haue alreadie done these North parts, do only perswade me further. And touching the Ore, I haue sent it aboard, whereof I would haue no speech to be made so long as we remaine within harbor: here being both Portugals, Biscains and Frenchmen not farre off, from whom must be kept any bruit or muttering of such matter. When we are at sea prooffe shall be made: if it be to our desire, we may returne the sooner hither againe. Whose answere I iudged reasonable, and contenting me well: wherewith I will conclude this narration and discription of the Newfound land, and proceede to the rest of our voyage, which ended tragically.

While the better sort of vs were seriously occupied in repairing our wants and contriuing of matters for the commoditie of our voyage: others of another sort & disposition were plotting of mischiefe. Some casting to steale away our shipping by night, watching oportunitie by the Generals and Captaines lying on the shore: whose conspiracies discovered, they were preuented. Others drew together in company, and carried away out of the harbors adioyning, a ship laden with fish, setting the poore men on shore. A great many more of our people stole into the woods to hide themselues, attending time and meanes to returne home by such shipping as daily departed from the coast. Some were sicke of fluxes, and many dead: and in briefe, by one meanes or other our company was diminished, and many by the Generall licenced to returne home. Infomuch as after we had reuiewed our people, resolved to see an end of our voyage,

we

we grewe scant of men to furnish all our shipping: it seemed good therefore vnto the Generall to leaue the Swallow with such prouision as might be spared for transporting home the sicke people.

The Captain of the Delight or Admirall returned into England, in whose stead was appointed Captaine Maurice Browne, before Captaine of the Swallow: who also brought with him into the Delight all his men of the Swallow, which before haue bene noted of outrage perpetrated and committed vpon fishermen there met at sea.

The Generall made choise to goe in his frigate the Squirrell whereof the Captaine also was amongst them that returned into England, the same Frigate being most conuenient to discouer vpon the coast, and to search into euery harbor or creeke, which a great ship could not doe. Therefore the Frigate was prepared with her nettings & fights, and ouercharged with bases and such small Ordinance, more to giue a shew, then with iudgement to foresee vnto the safetie of her and the men, which afterward was an occasion also of their ouerthrow.

Now hauing made readie our shipping, that is to say, the Delight, the golden Hinde, and the Squirrell, and put aboard our prouision, which was wines, bread or ruske, fish wette and drie, sweete oiles: besides many other, as marmalades, figs, lymmons barrelled, and such like: Also we had other necessary prouisions for trimming our ships, nets and lines to fish withall, boates or pinneffes fit for discouery. In briebe, we were supplied of our wants commodiously, as if we had bene in a Countrey or some Citie populous and plentifull of all things.

We

We departed from this harbour of S. Johns vpon Tuesday the twentieth of August, which we found by exact obseruation to be in 47 degrees 40 minutes. And the next day by night, we were at Cape Race, 25 leagues from the same harborough.

This Cape lyeth South Southwest from S. Johns: it is a low land, being off from the Cape about halfe a league: within the sea riseth vp a rocke against the point of the Cape, which thereby is easily knowne: It is in latitude 46 degrees 25 minutes.

Vnder this cape we were becalmed a small time, during which we layd out hookes and lines to take Codde, and drew, in lesse then two houres, fish so large and in such abundance, that many dayes after we fed vpon no other prouision.

From hence we shaped our course vnto the Island of Sablon, if conueniently it would so fall out, also directly to Cape Briton.

Sablon lieth to the sea-ward of Cape Briton about 25 leagues, whither we were determined to goe vpon intelligence we had of a Portugal, during our abode in S. Johns, who was himselfe present, when the Portugals, about thirty yeeres past, did put into the same Island both Neat and Swine to breede, which were since exceedingly multiplied. This seemed vnto vs very happy tidings, to haue in an Island lying so neere vnto the maine, which we intended to plant vpon, such store of cattell, whereby we might at all times conueniently be relieued of victuall, and serued of store to breed.

In this course we trended along the coast, which from
Cape

Cape Race stretcheth into the Northwest, making a bay which some called Trepassa. Then it goeth out againe toward the West, and maketh a point, which with Cape Race lieth in maner East and West. But this point inclineth to the North: to the West of which goeth in the bay of Placentia. We sent men on land to take view of the foyle along this coast, whereof they made good report, and some of them had wil to be planted there. They saw Pease growing in great abundance euerywhere.

The distance betweene Cape Race and Cape Briton is 87 leagues. In which Nauigation we spent 8 dayes, hauing many times the wind indifferent good: yet could we neuer attaine sight of any land all that time, seeing we were hindered by the current. At last we fell into such flats and dangers, that hardly any of vs escaped: where neuerthelesse we lost our Admiral with al the men and prouision, not knowing certainly the place. Yet for inducing men of skill to make coniecture, by our course and way we held from Cape Race thither, that thereby the flats and dangers may be inserted in sea Cards, for warning to others that may follow the same course hereafter, I haue set downe the best reckonings that were kept by expert men, William Cox Master of the Hind, and John Paul his mate, both of Limehoufe.

Reckonings kept in our course from Cape Race towards Cape Briton, and the Island of Sablon, to the time and place where we lost our Admirall.

August 22.	West	14. leagues.
	West and by South,	25.
	Westnorthwest,	25.
	Westnorthwest,	9.
	Southsouthwest,	10.
	Southwest,	12.
	Southsouthwest,	10.
August 29.	Westnorthwest,	12. Here we lost our Admirall.

Summe of these leagues, 117.

The reckoning of John Paul Masters, mate from Cape Race.

August 22.	West,	14. leagues.
23	Northwest and by West,	9.
24	Southwest and by South,	5.
25	West and by South,	40.
26	West and by North,	7.
27	Southwest,	3.
28	Southwest,	9.
	Southwest,	7.
	Westfouthwest,	7.
29	Northwest and by West,	20. Here we lost our Admirall.

Summe of all these leagues, 121.

Our

Our course we held in clearing vs of these flats was East-southeast, and Southeast, and South 14 leagues with a marueilous scant winde.

The maner how our Admirall was lost.

Vpon Tewsdai the 27 of August, toward the euening, our Generall caused them in his frigat to found, who found white sande at 35 fadome, being then in latitude about 44 degrees.

Wednesdai toward night the wind came South, and wee bare with the land all that night, Westnorthwest, contrary to the mind of master Cox: neuerthelesse wee followed the Admirall, depriued of power to preuent a mischiefe, which by no contradiction could be brought to hold other course, alleaging they could not make the ship to worke better, nor to lie otherwaies.

The euening was faire and pleasant, yet not without token of storme to ensue, and most part of this Wednesday night, like the Swanne that singeth before her death, they in the Admiral, or Delight, continued in founding of Trumpets, with Drummes, and Fifes: also winding the Cornets, Haught boyes: and in the end of their iolitic, left with the battell and ringing of dolefull knels.

Toward the euening also we caught in the Golden Hinde a very mighty Porpoise, with a harping yron, hauing first striken diuers of them, and brought away part of their flesh sticking vpon the yron, but could recouer onely that one. These also passing through the Ocean, in heardes, did portend storme. I omit to recite friuolous reportes by them
in

in the Frigat, of strange voyces, the same night, which scarred some from the helme.

Thursday the 29 of August, the wind rose, and blew vehemently at South and by East, bringing withal raine, and thicke mist, so that we could not see a cable length before vs. And betimes in the morning we were altogether runne and folded in amongst flats and sands, amongst which we found shoale and deepe in euery three or foure shippes length, after wee began to sound: but first we were vpon them vnawares, vntill master Cox, looking out, discerned in his iudgement, white cliffes, crying land withall, though we could not afterward descrie any land, it being very likely the breaking of the sea white, which seemed to be white cliffes, through the haze and thicke weather.

Immediatly tokens were giuen vnto the Delight, to cast about to seaward, which, being the greater ship, and of burden 120 tunnes, was yet formost vpon the breach, keeping so ill watch, that they knew not the danger, before they felt the same, too late to recouer it: for presently the Admirall strooke a ground, and had soone after her sterne and hinder partes beaten in pieces: whereupon the rest, that is to say, the Frigat in which was the Generall and the Golden Hinde, cast about Eastfoutheast, bearing to the South, euen for our liues into the windes eye, because that way caried vs to the seaward. Making out from this danger, wee founded one while seuen fadome, then fiue fadome, then foure fadome and lesse, againe deeper, immediatly foure fadome, then but three fadome, the sea going mightily and high. At last we recouered, God be thanked, in some despaire, to sea roome enough.

In

In this distresse, wee had vigilant eye vnto the Admirall, whom wee sawe cast away, without power to giue the men succour, neither could we espie any of the men that leaped ouerboord to saue themselues, either in the same Pinnesse or Cocke, or vpon rafters, and such like meanes, presenting themselues to men in those extremities: for we desired to saue the men by euery possible meanes. But all in vaine, sith God had determined their ruine: yet all that day, and part of the next, we beat vp and downe as neere vnto the wracke as was possible for vs, looking out, if by good hap we might espie any of them.

This was a heauy and grieuous euent, to lose at one blow our chiefe shippe fraughted with great prouision, gathered together with much trauell, care, long time, and difficultie. But more was the losse of our men, which perished almost to the number of a hundredth soules. Amongst whom was drowned a learned man, an Hungarian, borne in the citie of Budha, called thereof Budaeus, who of pietie and zeale to good attempts, aduentured in this action, minding to record in the Latine tongue, the gests and things worthy of remembrance, happening in this discouerie to the honour of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent stile of this Orator, and rare Poet of our time.

Here also perished our Saxon Refiner and Discouerer of inestimable riches, as it was left amongst some of vs in vndoubted hope.

No lesse heauy was the losse of the Captaine Maurice Browne, a vertuous, honest, and discreete Gentleman, ouerseene onely in liberty giuen late before to men, that ought to haue bene restrained, who shewed himselfe a man re-

solued, and neuer vnprepared for death, as by his last act of this tragedie appeared, by report of them that escaped this wracke miraculously, as shall bee hereafter declared. For when all hope was past of recovering the ship, and that men began to giue ouer, and to saue themselues, the Captaine was aduised before to shift also for his life, by the Pinnesse at the sterne of the ship: but refusing that counsell, he would not giue example with the first to leaue the shippe, but vsed all meanes to exhort his people not to despaire, nor so to leaue off their labour, choosung rather to die, then to incurre infamie, by forsaking his charge, which then might be thought to haue perished through his default, shewing an ill president vnto his men by leauing the ship first himselfe. With this mind hee mounted vpon the highest decke, where hee attended imminent death, and vnavoidable: how long, I leaue it to God, who withdraweth not his comfort from his seruants at such times.

In the meane season, certaine, to the number of fourteene persons, leaped into a small Pinnesse, the bignes of a Thames barge, which was made in the New found land, cut off the rope wherewith it was towed, and committed themselves to Gods mercy, amiddest the storme, and rage of sea and windes, destitute of foode, not so much as a droppe of fresh water. The boate seeming ouercharged in foule weather with company, Edward Headly a valiant souldier, and well reputed of his companie, preferring the greater to the lesser, thought better that some of them perished then all, made this motion to cast lots, and them to bee throwen ouerboord vpon whom the lots fell, thereby to lighten the boate, which otherwayes seemed impossible to liue, offred
himselfe

himselfe with the first, content to take his aduenture gladly: which neuertheles Richard Clarke, that was Master of the Admirall, and one of this number, refused, aduising to abide Gods pleasure, who was able to saue all, as well as a few.

The boat was caried before the wind, continuing fixe dayes and nights in the Ocean, and arriued at last with the men, aliue, but weake, vpon the New found land, sauing that the foresayd Headly, who had bene late sicke, and another called of vs Brasile, of his trauell into those Countreys, died by the way, famished, and lesse able to holde out, then those of better health. For such was these poore mens extremitie, in cold and wet, to haue no better sustenance then their owne veine, for fixe dayes together.

Thus whom God deliuered from drowning, hee appointed to bee famished, who doth giue limits to mans times, and ordaineth the manner and circumstance of dying: whom againe he will preferue, neither Sea nor famine can confound. For those that arriued vpon the Newe found land, were brought into France by certaine French men, then being vpon that coast.

After this heauie chance, wee continued in beating the sea vp and downe, expecting when the weather would cleere up, that we might yet beare in with the land, which we iudged not farre off, either the continent or some Island. For we many times, and in fundry places found ground at 50, 45, 40 fadomes, and lesse. The ground comming vpon our lead, being sometimes oazie sand, and otherwhile a broad shell, with a little sand about it.

Our people lost courage dayly after this ill successe, the weather continuing thicke and blustering, with increase of cold.

cold. Winter drawing on, which tooke from them all hope of amendment, fetling an assurance of worse weather to growe vpon vs euery day. The Leefide of vs lay full of flats and dangers ineuitable, if the wind blew hard at South. Some againe doubted we were ingulfed in the Bay of S. Laurence, the coast full of dangers, and vnto vs vnknown. But aboue all, prouision waxed scant, and hope of supply was gone, with losse of our Admirall.

Those in the Frigat were already pinched with spare allowance, and want of clothes chiefly. Whereupon they besought the Generall to returne for England, before they all perished. And to them of the Golden Hinde, they made signes of their distresse, pointing to their mouthes, and to their clothes thinne and ragged: then immediately they also of the Golden Hinde, grew to be of the same opinion and desire to returne home.

The former reasons hauing also moued the Generall to haue compassion of his poore men, in whom he saw no want of good will, but of meanes fit to performe the action they came for, resolued vpon retire: and calling the Captaine and Master of the Hinde, he yeelded them many reasons, inforcing this vnexpected returne, withall protesting himselfe greatly satisfied with that hee had seene, and knew already.

Reiterating these words, Be content, we haue seene enough, and take no care of expence past: I will set you forth royally the next Spring, if God send vs safe home. Therefore I pray you let vs no longer striue here, where we fight against the elements.

Omitting circumstance, how vnwillingly the Captaine &
Master

Master of the Hinde condescēded to this motion, his owne company can testifie: yet comforted with the Generals promises of a speedie returne at Spring, and induced by other apparant reasons, prouing an impossibilitie, to accomplish the action at that time, it was concluded on all hands to retire.

So vpon Saturday in the afternoone the 31 of August, we changed our course, and returned backe for England, at which very instant, euen in winding about, there passed along betweene vs and towards the land which we now forooke a very lion to our seeming, in shape, hair and colour, not swimming after the maner of a beast by moouing of his feete, but rather sliding vpon the water with his whole body, excepting the legs, in sight, neither yet diuing vnder, and againe rising aboue the water, as the maner is, of Whales, Dolphins, Tunise, Porposes, and all other fish: but confidently shewing himselfe aboue water without hiding: Notwithstanding, we presented ourselues in open view and gesture to amase him, as all creatures will be commonly at a sudden gaze and sight of men. Thus he passed along turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ougly demonstration of long teeth, and glaring eies, and to bidde vs a farewell, comming right against the Hinde, he sent forth a horrible voyce, roaring or bellowing as doth a lion, which spectacle wee all beheld so farre as we were able to discerne the same, as men prone to wonder at euery strange thing, as this doubtlesse was, to see a lion in the Ocean sea, or fish in shape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the Generall himselfe, I forbear to deliuer: But he tooke it for Bonum Omen,

Omen, reioycing that he was to warre against such an enemy, if it were the deuill.

The wind was large for England at our returne, but very high, and the sea rough, infomuch as the Frigat wherein the Generall went was almost swallowed vp.

Munday in the afternoone we passed in the sight of Cape Race, hauing made as much way in little more then two dayes and nights backe againe, as before wee had done in eight dayes from Cape Race, vnto the place where our ship perished. Which hindrance thitherward, and speed back againe, is to be imputed vnto the swift current, as well as to the winds, which we had more large in our returne.

This Munday the Generall came aboard the Hind to haue the Surgeon of the Hind to dresse his foote, which he hurt by treading vpon a naile: At which time we comforted ech other with hope of hard successe to be all past, and of the good to come. So agreeing to cary out lights alwayes by night, that we might keepe together, he departed into his Frigat, being by no meanes to be intreated to tarie in the Hind, which had bene more for his security. Immediately after followed a sharpe storme, which we ouerpassed for that time. Prayfed be God.

The weather faire, the Generall came aboard the Hind againe, to make merrie together with the Captaine, Master and company, which was the last meeting, and continued there from morning vntill night. During which time there passed fundry discourses, touching affaires past, and to come, lamenting greatly the losse of his great ship, more of the men, but most of all of his bookes and notes, and what els I know not, for which hee was out of measure grieved,
the

the same doubtles being some matter of more importance then his bookes, which I could not draw from him: yet by circumstance I gathered the same to be y^e Ore which Daniel the Saxon had brought vnto him in the New found land. Whatfoeuer it was, the remembrance touched him so deepe, as not able to containe himselfe, he beat his boy in great rage, euen at the same time, so long after the mis-carrying of the great ship, because vpon a faire day, when wee were becalmed vpon the coast of the New found land, neere vnto Cape Race, he sent his boy aboard the Admirall, to fetch certaine things: amongst which, this being chiefe, was yet forgotten and left behind. After which time he could neuer conueniently send againe aboard the great ship, much lesse hee doubted her ruine so neere at hand.

Herein my opinion was better confirmed diuerfly and by fundry coniectures, which maketh me haue the greater hope of this rich Mine. For where as the Generall had neuer before good conceit of these North parts of the world: now his mind was wholly fixed vpon the New found land. And as before he refused not to grant assignements liberally to them that required the same into these North parts, now he became contrarily affected, refusing to make any so large grants, especially of S. Johns, which certaine English merchants made suite for, offering to imploy their money and trauell vpon the same: yet neither by their owne suite, nor of others of his owne company, whom he seemed willing to pleasure, it could be obtained.

Also laying downe his determination in the Spring following, for disposing of his voyage then to be reattempted: he assigned the Captaine & Master of the Golden Hind,
vnto

vnto the South discouery, and referued vnto himfelfe the North, affirming that this voyage had wonne his heart from the South, and that he was now become a Northerne man altogether.

Last, being demanded what means he had at his arriuall in England, to compasse the charges of so great preparation as he intended to make the next Spring: hauing determined vpon two fleetes, one for the South, another for the North: Leaue that to mee, hee replied. I will aske a pennie of no man. I will bring good tidings vnto her Maiefty, who wil be so gracious, to lend me 10000 pounds, willing vs therefore to be of good cheere: for he did thanke God, he sayd, with al his heart, for that he had seene, the same being enough for vs all, and that we needed not to seeke any further. And these last words he would often repeate, with demonstration of great feruencie of mind, being himfelfe very confident, and settled in beliefe of inestimable good by this voyage: which the greater number of his followers neuertheles mistrusted altogether, not being made partakers of those secrets, which the Generall kept vnto himfelfe. Yet all of them that are liuing, may be witneses of his words and protestations, which sparingly I haue deliuered.

Leauing the issue of this good hope vnto God, who knoweth the trueth only, & can at his good pleasure bring the same to light: I will hasten to the end of this tragedie, which must be knit vp in the person of our Generall. And as it was Gods ordinance vpon him, euen so the vehement perswasion and intreatie of his friends could nothing auaille, to diuert him from a wilfull resolution of going through in
his

his Frigat, which was ouercharged vpon their deckes, with fights, nettings, and small artillerie, too cumberfome for fo small a boate, that was to paffe through the Ocean sea at that feafon of the yere, when by courfe we might expect much storme of foule weather, whereof indeed we had enough.

But when he was intreated by the Captaine, Master, and others his well willers of the Hinde, not to venture in the Frigat, this was his answere: I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I haue passed so many stormes and perils. And in very trueth, hee was vrged to be so ouer hard, by hard reports giuen of him, that he was afraid of the sea, albeit this was rather rashnes, then aduised resolution, to preferre the wind of a vaine report to the weight of his owne life.

Seeing he would not bend to reason, he had prouision out of the Hinde, such as was wanting aboard his Frigat. And so we committed him to Gods protection, & set him aboard his Pinneffe, we being more then 300 leagues onward of our way home.

By that time we had brought the Islands of Açores South of vs, yet wee then keeping much to the North, vntill we had got into the height and eleuation of England: we met with very foule weather, and terrible seas, breaking short and high Pyramid wise. The reason whereof seemed to proceede either of hilly grounds high and low within the sea, as we see hilles and dales vpon the land, vpon which the seas doe mount and fall: or else the cause proceedeth of diuersitie of winds, shifting often in fundry points: al which hauing power to moue the great Ocean, which againe

is not presently settled, so many seas do encounter together, as there had bene diuerfitie of windes. Howsoever it commeth to passe, men which all their life time had occupied the Sea, neuer saw more outrageous Seas. We had also vpon our maine yard, an apparition of a little fire by night, which seamen doe call Castor and Pollux. But we had onely one, which they take an euill signe of more tempest: the same is vsuall in stormes.

Munday the ninth of September, in the afternoone, the Frigat was neere cast away, oppressed by wanes, yet at that time recovered: and giuing foorth signes of ioy, the Generall fitting abaft with a booke in his hand, cried out vnto vs in the Hind, so oft as we did approach within hearing. We are as neere to heauen by sea as by land. Reiterating the same speech, well beseeming a fouldier, resolute in Iesus Christ, as I can testifie he was.

The same Monday night, about twelue of the clocke, or not long after, the Frigat being ahead of vs in the Golden Hinde, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment, we lost the sight, and withall our watch cryed, the Generall was cast away, which was too true. For in that moment, the Frigat was deuoured and swallowed vp of the Sea. Yet still we looked out all that night, and euer after, vntill wee arriued vpon the coast of England: Omitting no small faile at sea, vnto which we gaue not the tokens betweene vs, agreed vpon, to haue perfect knowledge of each other, if we should at any time be separated.

In great torment of weather, and perill of drowning, it pleased God to send safe home the Golden Hinde, which arriued in Falmouth, the 22 day of September, being Sunday,

day, not without as great danger escaped in a flaw, comming from the Southeast, with such thicke mist, that we could not discerne land, to put in right with the Hauen.

From Falmouth we went to Dartmouth, & lay there at anker before the Range, while the captaine went aland, to enquire if there had bene any newes of the Frigat, which sayling well, might happily haue bene before vs. Also to certifie Sir John Gilbert, brother vnto the Generall of our hard succeffe, whom the Captaine desired, while his men were yet aboard him, and were witnesse of all occurrents in that voyage. It might please him to take the examination of euery person particularly, in discharge of his and their faithfull endeouour. Sir John Gilbert refused so to doe, holding himselfe satisfied with report made by the Captaine: and not altogether dispairing of his brothers safetie, offered friendship and curtesie to the Captaine and his company, requiring to haue his barke brought into the harbour: in furtherance whereof, a boate was sent to helpe to tow her in.

Neuerthelesse, when the Captaine returned aboard his ship, he found his men bent to depart, euery man to his home: and then the winde seruing to proceede higher vpon the coast: they demanded money to carie them home, some to London, others to Harwich, and elsewhere, if the barke should be caried into Dartmouth, and they discharged, so farre from home, or else to take benefite of the wind, then seruing to draw neerer home, which should be a lesse charge vnto the Captaine, and great ease vnto the men, hauing els farre to goe.

Reason accompanied with necessitie perswaded the Captaine,

taine, who sent his lawfull excuse and cause of his sudden departure vnto Sir John Gilbert, by the boate of Dartmouth, and from thence the Golden Hind departed, and tooke harbour at Waimouth. Al the men tired with the tediousnes of so vnprofitable a voyage to their seeming: in which their long expence of time, much toyle and labour, hard diet and continuall hazard of life was vnrecompensed: their Captaine neuerthelesse by his great charges, impaired greatly thereby, yet comforted in the goodnes of God, and his vndoubted prouidence following him in all that voyage, as it doth alwaies those at other times, whofoeuer haue confidence in him alone. Yet haue we more neere feeling and perseuerance of his powerfull hand and protection, when God doth bring vs together with others into one same peril, in which he leaueth them, and deliuereth vs, making vs thereby the beholders, but not partakers of their ruine.

Euen so, amongst very many difficulties, discontentments, mutinies, conspiracies, sickneses, mortalitie, spoylings and wracks by sea, which were afflictions, more then in so small a Fleete, or so short a time may be supposed, albeit true in euery particularitie, as partly by the former relation may be collected, and some I suppressed with silence for their sakes liuing, it pleased God to support this company of which onely one man died of a maladie inueterate, and long infested: the rest kept together in reasonable contentment and concord, beginning, continuing, and ending the voyage, which none els did accomplish, either not pleased with the action, or impatient of wants, or preuented by death.

Thus haue I deliuered the contents of the enterprise and
last

last action of sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, faithfully, for so much as I thought meete to be published: wherein may alwaies appeare, though he be extinguished, some sparkes of his vertues, he remaining firme and resolute in a purpose by all pretence honest and godly, as was this, to discover, possesse, and to reduce vnto the seruice of God, and Christian pietie, those remote and heathen Countreys of America, not actually possessed by Christians, and most rightly appertaining vnto the Crowne of England: vnto the which, as his zeale deserueth high commendation: euen so, he may iustly be taxed of temeritie and presumption rather in two respects.

First, when yet there was onely probabilitie, not a certaine & determinate place of habitation selected, neither any demonstration of commoditie there *in esse*, to induce his followers: neuertheles, he both was too prodigall of his owne patrimony and too careles of other mens expences, to imploy both his and their substance vpon a ground imagined good. The which falling, very like his associates were promised, and made it their best reckoning to bee salued some other way, which pleased not God to prosper in his first and great preparation.

Secondly, when by his former preparation he was enfeebled of abilitie and credit, to performe his designements, as it were impatient to abide in expectation better opportunitie and meanes, which God might raise, he thrust himselfe againe into the action, for which he was not fit, presuming the cause pretended on Gods behalfe, would carie him to the desired ende. Into which, hauing thus made reentrie, he could not yeeld againe to withdraw,
though

though hee sawe no encouragement to proceed, lest his credit soyled in his first attempt, in a second should vtterly be disgraced. Betweene extremities, hee made a right aduenture, putting all to God and good fortune, and which was worst, refused not to entertaine euery person and meanes whatsoeuer, to furnish out this expedition, the succeffe whereof hath bene declared.

But such is the infinite bountie of God, who from euery euill deuifeth good. For besides that fruite may growe in time of our traouelling into those Northwest lands, the crosses, turmoiles, and afflictions, both in the preparation and execution of this voyage, did correct the intemperate humours, which before we noted to bee in this Gentleman, and made vnfavourie, and lesse delightfull his other manifold vertues.

Then as he was refined, and made neerer drawing vnto the image of God: so it pleased the diuine will to resume him vnto himselfe, whither both his, and euery other high and noble minde, haue alwayes aspired.



A RELATION
OF
RICHARD CLARKE OF WEYMOUTH.



A RELATION
OF
RICHARD CLARKE OF WEYMOUTH,
MASTER OF THE SHIP CALLED THE DELIGHT, GOING FOR THE
DISCOVERY OF NORUMBEGA
WITH
SIR HUMFREY GILBERT, 1583.

*Written in excuse of that Fault of casting away the Ship and
men, imputed to his ouersight.*



DEPARTING out of Saint Iohns Harborough in
the Newfound land the 20. of August vnto Cape
Raz, from thence we directed our course vnto
the Ile of Sablon or the Isle of Sand, which the
Generall Sir Humfrey Gilbert would willingly
haue seene. But when we came within twentie leagues of
the Isle of Sablon, we fell to controuerisie of our course.
The Generall came vp in his Frigot. and demanded of mee
Richard Clarke master of the Admirall what course was best
to keepe: I said that Westsouthwest was best: because the
wind was at South and night at hand and vnknown sands
lay off a great way from the land. The Generall com-
manded

manded me to go Westnorthwest. I told him againe that the Isle of Sablon was Westnorthwest and but 15. leagues off, and that he should be vpon the Island before day, if hee went that course. The Generall sayd, my reckoning was vntrue, and charged me in her Maiesties name, and as I would shewe myselfe in her Countrey to follow him that night. I fearing his threatenings, because he presented her Maiesties person, did follow his commaundement, and about seuen of the clocke in the morning the ship strooke on ground, where shee was cast away.

Then the Generall went off to Sea, the course that I would haue had them gone before, and saw the ship cast away men and all, and was not able to saue a man, for there was not water vpon the sand for either of them much lesse for the Admirall, that drew fourteen foote. Now as God would the day before it was very calme, and a Souldier of the ship had killed some foule with his piece, and some of the company desired me that they might hoyse out the boat to recouer the foule, which I granted them: and when they came aboard they did not hoyse it in againe that night. And whē the ship was cast away the boate was a sterne being in burthen one tunne and an halfe: there was left in the boats one oare and nothing els. Some of the company could swimme, and recouered the boate and did hale in out of the water as many men as they coule: among the rest they had a care to watch for the Captaine or the Master: They happened on my selfe being the Master, but could neuer see the Captaine: Then they halled into the boate as many men as they could in number 16. whose names hereafter I will rehearse.

And

And when the 16. were in the boate, some had small remembrance, and some had none: for they did not make account to liue, but to prolong their liues as long as it pleased God, and looked euery moment of an houre when the Sea would eate them vp, the boate being so little and so many men in her, and so foule weather, that it was not possible for a shippe to brooke halfe a coarfe of sayle.

Thus while wee remayned two dayes and two nights, and that wee saw it pleased God our boate liued in the Sea, although we had nothing to helpe vs withall but one oare, which we kept vp the boate withall upon the Sea, and so went euen as the Sea would driue vs; there was in our company one master Hedly that put forth this question to me the Master, I doe see that it doth please God, that our boate lyueth in the Sea, and it may please God that some of vs may come to the land if our boate were not ouerladen. Let vs make sixteene lots, and those foure that haue the foure shortest lots we will cast ouerboord preferuing the Master among vs all. I replied vnto him, saying, no, we will liue and die together. Master Hedly asked me if my remembrance were good: I answered I gaue God Prayse it was good, and knewe how farre I was off the land, and was in hope to come to the land within two or three dayes, and sayde they were but threescore leagues from the lande, when they were seuenties; all to put them in comfort.

Thus we continued the third and fourth day without any sustenance, saue onely the weedes that swamme in the Sea, and salt water to drinke. The fifth day Hedly dyed and another moreouer: then wee desired all to die; for in all these
fue

five dayes and five nights we saw the Sunne but once and the Starre but one night; it was so foule weather. Thus we did remaine the sixt day: then we were very weake and wished all to die saving onely my selfe, which did comfort them and promised they should come soone to land by the helpe of God: but the company were very importunate, and were in doubt they should neuer come to land, but that I promised them that the seventh day they should come to shore, or els they should cast me over boord: which did happen true the seventh day, for at eleven of the clocke wee had sight of the land, and at 3. of the clocke at afternoone we came on land.

All these seven dayes and seven nights, the wind kept continually South. If the wind had in the meane time shifted vpon any other point, wee had neuer come to land: we were no sooner come to the land, but the wind came cleane contrary at North within halfe an houre after our arriuall. But we were so weake that one could scarcely helpe another of vs out of the boate, Yet with much adoe being all come on shore we kneeled downe vpon our knees and gaue God praise that he had dealt so mercifully with vs. Afterwards those which were strongest holpe their fellowes vnto a fresh brooke, where we satisfied our selues with water and berries very well. There were of al sorts of berries plentie, & as goodly a Countrey as euer I saw: we found a very faire plaine Champion ground that a man might see very farre euery way: by the Sea side was here and there a little wood with goodly trees as good as euer I saw any in Norway, able to mast any shippe, of pyne trees, spruce trees, firre, and very great birche trees.

Where

Where we came on land we made a little house with boughes, where we rested all that night. In the morning I deuided the company three and three to goe euery way to see what foode they could find to sustaine themselves, and appointed them to meete there all againe at noone with such foode as they could get. As we went aboard we found great store of peason as good as any wee haue in England: a man would thinke they had bene fowed there. We rested there three dayes and three nights and liued very well with pease and berries, wee named the place Saint Laurence, because it was a very goodly riuer like the riuer of S. Laurence in Canada, and we found it very full of Salmons.

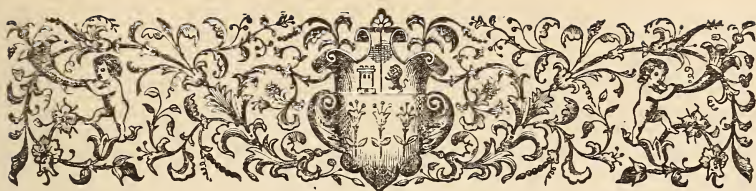
When wee had well rested our selues wee rowed our boate along the shore, thinking to haue gone to the Grande Bay to haue come home with some Spanyards which are yeerely there to kill the Whale: And when we were hungry or a thirst we put our boate on land and gathered pease and berries. Thus wee rowed our boate along the shore fīue dayes: about which time we came to a very goodly riuer that ranne farre vp into the Countrey. and saw very goodly growen trees of all sortes.

There we happened vpon a ship of Saint Iohn de Luz, which ship brought vs into Biskay to an Harborough called The Passage, The Master of the shippe was our great friend or else we had bene put to death if he had not kept our counsayle. For when the visitors came aboard, as it is the order in Spaine, they demaunding what we were, he sayd we were poore fishermen that had cast away our ship in Newfound land, and so the visitors inquired no more of the matter at
that

that time. Assoone as night was come. he put vs on land and bad vs shift for our selues. Then had wee but tenne or twelue miles into France, which we went that night, and then cared not for the Spanyard. And so shortly after we came into England toward the end of the yeere 1583.



LETTER
OF
STEPHEN PARMENIVS
TO
RICHARD HAKLUYT.



LETTER
OF
STEPHEN PARMENIVS
TO
RICHARD HAKLUYT.

*Written in the Port of Saint Johns, Newfoundland the Sixth
day of August, 1583.*

TO THE WORSHIPFUL MASTER RICHARD HAKLUYT AT OXFORD, IN CHRISTCHURCH, MASTER OF ARTS, AND PHILOSOPHIE, HIS FRIEND AND BROTHER.¹



HAD not purposed to write vnto you, when the promise of your letters came to my mind: You thought in June last to have followed vs your-
selfe, and therefore I had left order that you
should be advertised of my state, by Master
Doctor Humfrey: but so you would not be satisfied: I will
write therefore to you almost in the same words, because I
have

¹ Stephen Parmenius, the writer of this letter, was a Hungarian, a native of Buda, a city situated on the western shore of the Danube opposite Pesth.

In 1583 it was under the dominion of Turkey, and Parmenius doubtless found the atmosphere of England far more congenial. He was a scholar and a

have no leifure at this time, to meditate new matters and to vary or multiply words.

The 11. of June we fet faile at length from England in good earnest, and departed, leauing the hauen and land behind vs at Plimmouth: our Fleete consisted of fve shippes: the greatest, which the Admiral's brother had lent vs, withdrew herself from vs the third day, we know not upon what occasion: with the rest we sailed still together till the 23. of July: at which time our view of oneanother being intercepted by the great mists, some of vs sailed one way, and some another: to vs alone the first land appeared, the first of August, about the latitude of 50. degrees, when as before we had descended beyond 41. degrees in hope of some Southerly windes, which notwithstanding neuer blew to us at any fit time.

It is an Island which your men call Penguin, because of the multitude of birdes of the same name. Yet wee neither sawe any birds, nor drewe neere to the land, the winds seruing for our course directed to another place, but wee mette altogether at that place a little before the Hauen, whereunto
by

man of literary tastes. Captain Haies calls him a "learned man," an "orator," and a "poet." An intimate friendship had sprung up between him and Richard Hakluyt, then a young man, about thirty years of age, a resident of Oxford, who had the year before published his first work entitled *Diuers Voyages touching the Discoverie of America and the Islands adjacent unto the Same*. This was followed in after years by numerous publications of a similar character for which the historical student is under lasting obligations. In joining this expedition for western discovery and col-

onization, it seems to have been understood that Parmenius was to be its historian, and this letter was apparently an instalment of the complete work which he intended to present on his return to England. He undoubtedly wrote in Latin because he was not fully master of the English tongue. Hakluyt published in his *Voyages* the original letter in Latin, together with an English translation, which we here present to the reader. Parmenius perished in the wreck of the *Delight*, August 29, 1583.

by common Councell we had determined to come, and that within the space of two houres by the greate goodnesse of God, and to our great joy. The place is situate in New-foundland, betweene 47. and 48. degrees called by the name of Saint Iohns: the Admirall himselfe by reason of the multitude of the men, and the smalnesse of his ship, had his company somewhat sickly, and had already lost two of the same company, which died of the Flix: of the rest we conceiue good hope. Of our company, for I joined myselfe with Maurice Browne, a very proper gentleman, two persons by a mischance were drowned, the rest are in safetie, and strong, and for mine owne part I was neuer more healthy.

We arrived at this place the third of August: and the fift the Admiral took possession of the Countrey, for himselfe and the Kingdome of England: having made and published certaine Lawes, concerning religion, and obedience to the Queene of England: at this time our fare is somewhat better, and dantier, then it was before: for in good sooth, the experience of so long time hath taught vs what contrary winds wee haue found, and what greate trauell wee may endure hereafter: and therefore we will take such order, that wee will want nothing: for we found in this place about twenty Portugall and Spanish shippes, besides the shippes of the English: which being not able to match vs, Suffer vs not to bee hunger starued: the English although they were of themselves strong ynough, and safe from our force, yet seeing our authoritie, by the Queenes letters patents, they shewed vs all maner of duety and humanitie.

The maner of this Countrey and people remaine now to be spoken of. But what shall I say, my Good Hakluyt,
when

when I see nothing but a very wilderneffe: Of fish here is incredible abundance, whereby great gaine grows to them that trauell to these parts: the hooke is no sooner throwne out, but it is eftsoones drawne vp with some goodly fish: the whole land is full of hilles and woods. The trees for the most part are Pynes and of them some are very olde, and some yong: a great part of them being fallen by reason of their age, doth so hinder the sight of the land, and stoppe the way of those that seeke to trauell, that they can go no whither: all the grasse here is long, and tall and little differeth from ours. It seemeth also that the nature of this soyle is fit for corne: for I found certaine blades and eares in a manner bearded, so that it appeareth that by manuring and sowing, they may easily be framed for the vse of man: here are in the woods bush berries, or rather straw berries, growing vp like trees, of great sweetnesse. Beares also appeare about the fishers stages of the Countrey, and are sometimes killed, but they seem to bee white, as I coniectured by their skinner and somewhat lesse than ours.

Whether there bee any people in the Countrey I knowe not, neither have I seene any to witnesse it. And to say the trueth, who can, when as it is not possible to pass any whither. In like sort it is vnknowne, whither any mettals lye under the hilles: the cause is all one, although the very colovr and hue of the hilles seeme to haue some Mynes in them: we moued the Admirall to set the woods a fire, that so wee might haue space, and entrance to take view of the Countrey, which motion did nothing displease him, were it not for feare of great inconuenience that might thereof insue: for it was reported and confirmed by
very

very credible persons that when the like happened by chance in another Port, the fish neuer came to the place about it, for the space of 7. whole yeares after, by reason of the waters made bitter by the Turpentine, and Rosen of the trees which ranne into the rivers upon the firing of them.

The weather is so hote this time of the yeere, that except the very fish, which is layed out to be dried by the sunne, be euery day turned it cannot possibly bee preferred from burning: but how cold it is in the winter, the great heapes, and mountaines of yce, in the midst of the Sea haue taught vs: some of our company report, that in May, they were sometimes kept in, with such huge yce, for 16. whole dayes together, as that the Islands thereof were threescore fathoms thicke, the sides whereof which were towards the Sunne, when they were melted, the whole masse or heape was so inuerted and turned in manner of balancing, that that part which was before downeward, rose vpward, to the greater perill of those that are neere them, as by reason we may gather. The ayre vpon land is indifferent cleare, but at Sea towards the East there is nothing els but perpetuall mists, and in the Sea it selfe, aboute the Banke; for so they call the place where they find ground forty leagues distant from the shore, and where they beginne to fish, there is no day without raine. When we haue serued and supplied our necessitie in this place, we purpose by the helpe of God to passe towards the South, with so much the more hope euery day, by how much the greater the things are, that are reported of those Countreys which we go to discover. Thus much touching our estate.

Now

174 *Letter of Stephen Parmenivs.*

Now I desire to know somewhat concerning you, but I feare in vaine, but specially I desire out of measure to know how my Patrone master Henry Vmpton doth take my absence: my obedience, and duetie shall alwayes bee ready toward him as long as I liue: but in deede I hope, that this journey of ours shalbe profitable to his intentions. It remaineth that you thinke me to be still yours, and so yours as no mans more. The sonne of God bleffe all our labors, so farre, as that you your selfe may be partaker of our blessing.

Adieu, my most friendly, most sweete, most vertuous Hakluyt: In Newfound land, at Saint Iohns Port, the 6. of August, 1583.

Yours,

STEVEN PARMENIVS OF BUDA.



A LETTER

WRITTEN BY

SIR HUMFREY GYLBERTE

TO THE RT. HON.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.



A LETTER

WRITTEN BY

SIR HUMFREY GYLBERTE

TO THE RT. HON.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM,

KNIGHT, PRINCIPAL SECRETARY TO

HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH,

DATED RED CROSS STREET, FEBRUARY 7TH, 1582.



IGHT HONERABLE;

Wheras it hath pleased yo' hon' to let me vnderstand that her ma^{tie} of her especiall care had of my well doing, & prosperous succeffe, hath wished my stay att home from the personall execution of my intended discovery as a man noted of no good happ by sea:¹ for the which I acknowledge myfelfe

¹ This letter was copied in 1859, from the original in the British State Paper office, by the late Samuel G. Drake, the distinguished antiquary of Boston, and was printed in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register in the July number of that year. Mr. Drake's name is a guaran-

tee for the accuracy of the transcript. It is calendared in the State Paper Office, *Domestic*, Vol. 158, No. 59.

The abortive expedition of 1578, which we have described on page 57 of this work, disappointed the Queen, and she had expressed the opinion that Sir Humfrey was a man of no good luck at sea,

myselfe so muche bounden vnto her ma^{tie}, as I know not how to deserue the leaſte parte thereof, otherwiſe than with my continuall prayer, and moſt ſaythfull, and forward ſervice during lyfe: And now to excuſe myſelfe, and ſatiſfye yo^r hono^r touching the objections made of my ſtaye, it may pleaſe you to bee aduertified that in my firſt enterpriſe I retourned with great loſſe, becauſe I would not myſelfe, nor ſuffer any of my compa^{ny}e to doe anythinge contrarye to my worde given to her ma^{tie} and yo^rſelfe: for yf I had not farr p^rferred my credit before my gayne, I needed not to have retourned ſo poore as then I did.

And touching this my laſt ſtaye at Hampton, it hath proceeded by ſouthweſt wyndes of godes making and ſending: and therfore not my faulte or negligence. but yf I wear giltye of delaye, the principall charge is my own, and noe loſſe to any other, for my aduentures as I had them for the moſt parte in wares, ſo I have them ſtill without any loſſe to anye of them. And in truth the outeraige of this winter hath been a common hyndrance to all men of this realme ſouthwardes bounde. Yea, and the wyndes ſo contrarye as that it hath droven ſhippes from the yles of the Afres vppon this coſte without ſpreading any ſayle at all. A thinge I thinke never harde of before. And the kinge of
Portingale

and had better in the future remain at home. Sir Francis Walsingham appears to have communicated this opinion of the Queen to Gylberte, and this letter is his answer. He ſtates that the extraordinarily bad weather, ſuch as was never known before, was the great obſtacle to this laſt enterpriſe and the cauſe of the delay at Hampton, and he is ſanguine of future ſucceſs. What influence this letter had we know not,

but four months later, the new expedition had been fully equipped with Sir Humfrey Gylberte at its head, which left Cauſet Bay on the 11th of June, 1583, but, as we have ſeen, to prove in the end only a diſaſtrous failure. The reader will obſerve that the year at that time beginning on March 25, there were only four months and four days from February 7, 1582, to June 11, 1583.

Portingale beeing at the Tercera¹ coulde not in all this tyme recover the maderaes.² How farr impossible then hadd it ben for mee to have performed my jorney this winter? Yo^r hono^r can judge, dwelling soe farr to the northewardest of the place intended to be discovered. And seeing the Queenes ma^{tie} is to have a fyfthe of all the golde & sylver ther to bee gotten without any charge to her ma^{tie}, I truste her hyghness of her accustomed favo^r will not denye mee libertye to execute that w^{ch} resteth in hope so profitable to her ma^{tie} & crown. The great desyre I have to performe the same hath coste mee first & last the selling and spending of a thousand marke land a yeere of my owne getting besides the score of the worlde, for conceaving so well of a matter that others hold so ridiculous, although now by my meanes better thought of.

Yff the doubt be my wante of skill to execute the same, I will offer my selfe to bee appoynted by all the best navigato^{res} and cosmographers within the realme. Yff it be cowardlines, I seeke noe other purgation thereof then my former service don to her ma^{tie}: yf it be the suspition of dayntines of dyett or sea sicknes, in those both I will yeeld my selfe second to noe man living, because that comparison is rather of hardines of bodye then a boiste of vertue: but how little accounte soever is made either of the matter or of mee, I truste her ma^{tie} wth her favor for my xxviijth yeares service will allowe mee to gett my livinge as well as I may honestly, which is every subiectes righte, and not to constrainne mee by my idle abode at home to begg my bredd
with

¹ Terceira, one of the Azores.

east of the Azores on the west coast of

² Madeiras, a group of islands south-

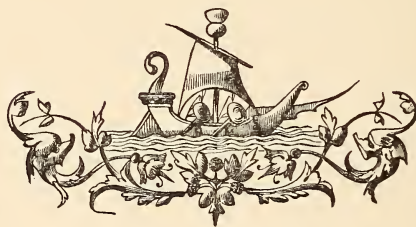
Africa.

180 *Letter of Sir Humfrey Gylberte.*

with my wife and children, especially seeing I have her ma^{ties} graunte and lycense under the great seale of Englande for my departure: without the which I would not have spent a penny in this action wherein I am most bounde to her ma^{tie} for her great favo^r, which of all thinges I most De-fyre: and take comforte in: protesting that noe man lyving shall serve her ma^{tie} more faythfully and dutifully during my life wth all the good fortune that god shall bestowe on mee. And thus I truste I have satisfyed yo^r hono^r as all my intentes and proceedings, leaving yo^r hono^r to the tuition of the almightye. ffrom my house in Redcroffe streat the 7th of February 1582.

Yo^r honores most humble

HY GYLBERTE.



COPIES OF LETTERS AND PAPERS
FROM THE
ENGLISH ARCHIVES.



COPIES OF LETTERS AND PAPERS
FROM THE
ENGLISH ARCHIVES.

The Source of each will be found indicated by Footnotes.

PETITION OF HUMFREY GYLBERTE RESPECTING A NORTH
PASSAGE TO CATAIA, 1566.

To the Quenes most excellent Ma^{tie} o^r dread fouereigne
ladie.

Pleaseth it yo^r Ma^{tie}, that whereas of longe tyme, there
hath bin nothings faide or done concerninge the discouer-
inge of a passage by the Northe, to go to Cataia, & all other
the east partes of the worlde, theise are moste humblie to be-
seche yo^r Ma^{tie} that I maie have the same privedged, accord-
inge to the articles followinge, And I nothings doubtinge the
good succeffe, doe meane god willinge, to make tryall thereof,
at myne owne costes & charges with the helpe of my freindes,
& fuche as by my procurement, will assiste me in that behalf.
Hopinge that your highnes will farther the same, Beinge to
the greate hono^r, profytt, & strength, bothe of yo^r maiestie &
also

also yo^r realme withoute burdeninge of eyther, or Iniuringe any christian prince, by crossinge any of them, in any theire trades or otherwyse.

1. First, none to go, or by any adventure, or procurement, to furnyshe, or sett forth the any others, to passe to any parte of the worlde, through this vndiscoueryd passage, vppon paine of confyscation, of the goodes (so adventred) to my vse, wth farther punyshment at yo^r ma^{tes} pleasure, except suche as shalbe by me duringe my lyff made Free thereof, And the same to extend to them & all the heires of theire bodies for euer.

2. Secondly, my self & my ij brothers, duringe the naturall lives of us & all those that shall lyneally dyscend & succead any off us, to adventure in the same, for euer, from tyme to tyme, at o^r pleasures, Annsweringe all customes, accordinge to the rates nowe vsed & not otherwyse.

3. Thirdely, that I maie haue, to my vse for the terme of xix yers the vth parte of the customes of the marchaundize retouned by meanes of this discouerze.

HUMFREY GYLBERTE.¹

HUMFREY GYLBERTE TO QUEEN ELIZABETH. PROPOSALS FOR
UNDERTAKING THE DISCOVERY OF A PASSAGE TO CATAIA.

1567, February.

To the Quenes moste excelente Ma^{ti}.

Forasmuche as yt hathe pleasid yo^r Ma^{ti} to Establishe by parliament the Corporacion for discoouerye of new trades I yo^r highneis Humble seruant & Subject Humfrey gilberte
beyng

¹ *Vide, Birch MS., British Museum, MMMMCLIX. folio 175.*

beyng on of the same Companye, am therby encooraged and mynd wth yo^r Ma^{tis} licence & fauor to enterpryse & geve the attempt wth all possible spede for the discoouerye of A passage to Cataya and all other the ryche partes of the worlde as yet vnfounde, w^{ch} takynge good successe shalbe greate honor & strengthe to yo^r ma^{te} wth ymmortall fame thoroughte all the world, besides the great enrichinge of yo^r highnes & yo^r Countrie wth increace & mayntenannce of yo^r nauye, yt maye therefore please yo^r Ma^{ty} to graunte me thes preuileges followinge, aswell in Consideracion of the premisses as also of the greate Chargys that I shall sustayne by the settinge forward the same, besides the apparant mysserable trawayll hassarde & perell of my lyffe, wherin I submyte my selffe to the good wyll & pleassure of god.

1. Firste that yt maye please yo^r ho. for the fowre furste voyages to graunte frelye to me, the vse & occupacion of suche two of yo^r ma^{tis} shippes wth ther fornytures as by yo^r h. Lord admyrall shalbe thought mooste fyttest to be employed yn that service, wth yo^r Ma^{tis} Commission yf nede shalbe for the apprestinge and hiring of maryners & other parsons necessarye for that voyage; & also for the vittailynge of suche number of shippes as shalbe vsed yn that fowre furste voyages at yo^r M. pryce.

2. Also that yo^r h. wyll please to graunte to yo^r sayd seruante his heyres Executores & assignes that he or they maye & shall at his or theyr will & Election yerely duringe the space of. xl. yeres, traffick wth anye kynde of merchandise to anye the plases hereafter to be discovered by the said Corporacion for discoverye of new trades wth one or two shipes at the mooste wthoute payeng any maner of custome, imposicion sub-

fedes

fedes or other dutyes w^c may growe to yo^r Ma^{ti} for any merchandise to be laden in any of them eyther in their voyage thether or yn ther returne hether, except only xij d. for everye toonne accordinge to the burden of the said shippe or shippes.

3. Also that I maye haue to me & my ayers yn fee the tenthe parte of all suche landes & Countres as shall so happen to be Diskouered wth all mano^r of proffites therevnto appertayninge, hauinge lyberty to take to that quantyty to any our vffes yn any parte of thes diskoueryd Counterys where as to vs shall seme good, holdinge yt of yo^r. M. as of the Crown of England at the yerely rente & valew of A knightes fee wthoute any impossityon subside oyffing oute, or any other charge or seruise for the same.

4. Also to graunte to me duringe my lyfe the Capitane-shipe chefe rule & gouern^t too yo^r Ma^{tis} vse of all suche Countres & terytoryez as shalbe by me or by my meanes or advice discoueryd, wth conuenient fee & alowancez for suche a charge as to yo^r Ma^{ti} shall seme good, & the same to be occupied & excercyside by me or my sufficient deputye or deputyez.

5. Also the moyete of her Ma^{tis} parte of suche goodes as shall hereafter happen to be forfyted by infrenginge the preulgis of the said corporacion to be to the vse of me & my ayers in fee for ever answeyng 12d. by the yere for the same.

6. Also that all suche shippes as shall from tyme to tyme be imployed aboute the traffike into suche discoueryd countres owtewardes or homewardes wth there gingez may be fre for ever of all arestes impreste or ympechementes for any common service of the realme vnleas yt be by vertu of her ma^{tis} speciall commyffion vnder her byll affind.²

QUEEN

² *Vide, Humfrey Gylberte, State Papers, Domestic, Vol. XLII. No. 23.*

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE LORD DEPUTY SIDNEY: HUMFREY
GYLBERTE TO NEGOTIATE ABOUT THE PLANTATION.vjth Julii 1567.

L. Deputy of Irland.

We greete you well. We do very well allow of your opinion declarid to vs by Agar, that some gentlemen of good houses wthin our Realme heere may be inducid to comme over with their awne Tenauntes and freendes, and to haue assignid vnto them such portions of territoryes there as yelding for the same some small rent at the begynning wth an increasf resonable aft^r some yers passed, they may be encouraged to plant them selves and their freendes there. and so by contynuaunce of tyme to stablishe those contres wth Englishe birth and government. Forther proceedinge wherin to perfection, we perceiue there canbe no present resolution taken, vntill the same contreys be surveyed and described. which we perceiue yo^u intend to do now in this yo^r next jo^uney to be begoone wthin this moneth of July. And therwth also before any graunt can be orderly made to any person, the same contreys must be devydid into sheere growndes. for the which we perceyue ye haue caufid a forme of a statut to be devisid, to passe in our next parlement there. which being brought vnto vs, without more mater knowne to the contrary, we meane to allow. And in the meane tyme, wishe yow to pervse those contreys in this your next jo^uney, so as you may aduertise vs what nombre of famylyes and habitations will be requisfit for this pourpose w^t such other particularetyes as may gyve vs vnderstandyng of the state of the same. And in the
meane

meane tyme lykewise to treat & devise wth such eng^h gentlemen as be there, or of your acquaintaunce heere in Englande, in the best fort yo^w can, for the habitation of the same Countreys. And where dyvers feeme desyrous heere of the lyke, we will addresse theim eyther by theim selves or by their sufficient messengers to conferre wth yo^w as our principall officer therin, lyke as we heere that o^r servaunt Humfrey Gylberte is instructid from certein gent^r in the west partes heere to deale wth yow in this behalf. which yo^w shall best know of him self, if he haue not already impartid it vnto yo^w. Our meaning is always in this mater to referue to o^r selves the power and disposition of theese territoryes & countreys to suche as shalbe thought the principall men for the same, vpon advise had from yo^w, as from o^r principall gouerno^r of the whole And therfore the sooner ye do infourme vs of the particularytyes heerin requysite, the soner yow shalbe satisfied.³

[*Endorsed* :—] M. July 1567
 To the L. Deputy of Ireland
 from the Q. ma^{te} vpon mr F.
 Agardes comming and report.

Yf Turlough Lynoghe shall styll kleame to be Oneale rebellyously, than to offer elyxander ogge, wth the newe Skottes, his free holde for theyr habitation, yf theye entryng forthwth thervvpon shall expell hym & keape the same.

And yff Turlough be a good subiect than to expell the skotts forthwth

To gyue no cowntenance of honor to Turloghe, otherwyse than that he may be gouerned as m^r Ager dothe gouerne the

³ *Vide, State Papers, Ireland, Vol. XXI. No. 49.*

the Bernes & Toolles, vntyll a president & cownsayle be establisshed there.

That m^r gylbard be made president there for the first yere or two, yff he joynyng wth his frendes of the weste woll plant habitation there of ynglyshe men wth resonable conditions.

To provoke soteche of the thowsand men that are to be cased beyng good hvsbond men, plowe wryghts, kart wryghts, and Smythes, eyther to take habitation yf they be hable, or els to staye & serve there vnder soteche gentelmen as shall inhabyte there.

And as soone as may be to cawse artizans, and sea fysshers to plant vppon the Ban; at Strangford, and at Lowghfoyle, intrenchyng theym selffes there, that aft^r they may growe to be haven Townes. July 7 1567.⁴

THE LORD DEPUTY'S REMEMBRANCE OF HER MAJESTY'S
RESOLUTIONS, ETC. CAPT GYLBERTES BAND.

Her ma^{tes} resolucion in matters movid to her highnes the first of Julie, 1568.

1. First her highnes pleas^r was that immediatlie vppon myne arrivall in Irlande or by Mich'mas at the fardest I shuld casshe and dischardge all the garrison residing in Laughlin bridge for this I desier warraunt & commaundem^t.

2. Her ma^{ty} was well pleased that Audit^r genifon shuld haue like allowaunce for his charges and travell sustainid in thaffaiers extraordinary to his office as others haue had vz Valentyne Browne or Willm. Dix, w^{ch} Valentyne had xx^s, str^r per diem and x: men in wages at viij^d per diem. And Willm.

⁴ Vide, *State Papers, Ireland*, Vol. XXI. No. 56.

Willm. Dix had xx^s, per diem and ij clarkes at ij^s the pece per diem, for this I desier warraunt.

3. Her ma^{tes} pleas^r was that Capten Gilbertes band of shot on horseback shuld haue augmentacion in their wages the certainty wherof I desier to knowe or ells to haue it left to my discretion and to be warraunted for it.

4. Her highnes was well pleased that Occarolls grief shuld be harde, and that he shuld haue letters into Irland of Justice and Comfort.

5. Her ma^{tes} pleasuer was that I shuld haue auctoritytie to treat wth bagnall towching the exchaunge of his Landes.

6. Her ma^{tes} pleasuer was that Richard Newterville shuld haue a lease in Revercion for xxj yeres of such landes as he hath presently in possession.

7. Her ma^{tes} pleas^r was that Thomas Eliot m^r gunn^r of Irlande shuld haue a lease in revercion for the terme of yeres of the Rectories of Laroughcor and Killmore in the County of Meth being of the clere yerelie value of xxix^{ti} vj^s viij^d.

8. Her ma^{ty} is well pleased that Iaques Wingefeld shuld haue a lease for lxj yeres of landes lieing in the Counties of Lymerick Cork and Kerry to the yerelie value of one hundredth poundes.

9. Her highnes was pleased that Antoine Rowe shuld haue a lease in revercion for xxj yeres of the parsonages of baltinglas and killmollin being both of the yerelie value of xvj^{ti} irishe.

10. Her ma^{tes} pleas^r was that Robert Quick shuld haue a lease in revercion for xxj yeris of a ferme in the tenner of Edward Birne of the yerelie value of iiij^{ti} iiij^s irishe.

11. Her

11. Her ma^{ty} was contentid to graunt to Edmond fitz Allexander capten of her galloglas a lease in reuercion for xxj yeres of so much of his petition as shall seme good to me the deputie and being not grauntid to others in consideration of service.

12. Her ma^{ty} was well pleased to abbate of the arrerages of her subsidie in the cuntree of the Decees being 425^{li}, the some of 225^{li} so as she maie haue good sewertie for the same to be p^d at resonable days And that the same s^r Maurice shuld haue a letter of Justice into Irland, for hearing and determining his compleintes for spoiles betweene the Erle of Desmound and him. And that he shuld surrender his landes and take the same of the Quenis Ma^{ty} to hold of her in Capite by one knightes fee wth certaine Remaindo^{rs} the last wherof to be in the Crowne of Englande. And that he shuld be dischargid of all services and exactions claimid by enie other subiect, and that he shuld be ennoblid by the titell of Vicount: for the Decees w^t a reservation of — to be taken ovt of some of o^r landes in Mvnster as to you o^r Depvte and Counsell shall be thought mete and for the procedyng and creatyng herof, we ar content that some booke be made by o^r learned Counsell ther and others for a grant from vs makyng and creatyng hym first baron of some segnores of his owne, and consequently the Vicount of the Dessees.

H. SYDNEY.⁵

⁵ *Vide, State Papers, Ireland, Vol. XXV. No. 15.*

SIR WILLIAM CECILL TO DEPUTY SIDNEY COMMENDING THE
BEARER SIR ARTHUR CHAMPERNOWNE.

It may please yo^r Lordship, That where the same have ben desirous that some part of that realme might be inhabited wth gentlemen and people of this countrey who might be able to defend the same and kepe it from such oppressions as lately it hath borne. This bearer s^r Arthur Champernowne hath had liking therof, and of his intention hath hertofore lett m^r Gilbert to vnderstand. To whom he also presently repaireth for further conference. And though I nede not to recommend this gentleman being so well known vnto yo^r L: yet being of so good a howse and ability here I could not but declare my good allowance of his intendment. And for that respect thought to accompany him wth these few wordes to yo^r L. favo^r, to whom I committ the same. And so I wish yo^r L. right well to do. from Richmond the xxth of July 1567.

Your L. humbly at Com :

W. CECILL.

Theis gentillmen come purpoffly to see your L. and the contrey, as I perceave, and to procede as yow shall fynd mete.⁶

[*Addressed:—*] To the right honorable my
very good Lord S^r Henry Sidney
... t of th^r order, Lord deputy
Realme of Ireland.

⁶ *Vide, State Papers, Ireland, Vol. XXI. No. 64.*

CAPTAIN JOHN WARDE TO CECILL. CAPT. GYLBERTES
OVERTHROW OF FITZMAURICE AND MC. CARTHY MORE1569, September 26.
KELLMALLOCKE.

Right hono^rable my humble duttey promysed pleseth yt
yo^r hono^r the xxiiijth day of this present Capttayne gelbertt &
I came from Binbryle to the towne of Kellmallocke wth our
only company w^{ch} ys distans xij mylles, and the xxvth day
Jamis Fe morrys & mackarttemowre wth all there powres to
the nombre of a thowfand fyve hundreth foott men and iij
horse came wthyne havlf a myll of the towne then capttayne
gelbertt command me to plase att every gatte wthyne the
towne ferting of my men & whowght the towne in dyverys
lanis & strayghtes, & he himselfe wth his owne compayny &
Sertting of my shott vpon hackenis Sallyed forth he told me
a wold but vew them, & so Retyre him selfe in a gayne but
he as Sone as a came the^r a charged them very flowghtly &
kelled ij lordes of his compayny & hurtt xx very fore & of
capttayne gelbardes men were slayne one & vj hurtt yf all
our compayny had ben here I wene m^r wth his ij D who ys
att korke xxiiijth mylles from this towne we should by
goodes amade and end of all Jamis Femorys warys this
nyght capttayn gelberd doth take his gorny towards corke
to fyche m^r sult wth his Compayny hether where by we shall
when our strynth ys to gether be able to do the bettar servis
by godes helpe, thus I dezyre the eternall god to preserve
yo^r

yo^r hono^r in helth & fellyfyte from kellmallocke the xxvjth day
of Septembar an^o 1569

Yo^r hono^r's most humble to command

JOHN WARDE^r

[*Addressed:—*] To the Right Honorable
S^r W^m Syffell Knighte
Secretorye to the queenes Ma^{te}.

QUEEN ELIZABETH TO THE LORD DEPUTY SIDNEY ABOUT
EARL OF DESMOND AND HUMFREY GYLBERTES FULL PAY.

To the L. deputy of Irland.

We grete yo^w well. forasmuch as the Erle of Desmond by his fundry great misdeameano^{rs} in contempt of vs & o^r peace there hath not only forfeytid great sommes of money wherin he stoode bound to vs for obsevation of o^r said peace, but also incurred into the danger of his lief landes & goodes if our lawes shuld be extended ageynst hym for w^{ch} purpose we committed him to prison in o^r Tower at London, where he remayneth and his broth^r f^r Jhon of Desmond w^t him being participat of certen his misdeameano^{rs}, and there do live only to o^r great charges w^{out} any relief of their owne any wise: We therfore will & require yo^w to see somme spedy order taken as yow shall think best how the revenues & proffittes of their landes may be sequestred into the custody of somme person well chosen for that purpose, and that therby we may be first awnswered of such charges as sence the time of their committing to prison we have borne. And that from henceforth there may be order given how they may be susteyned during the time of their emprisonment by meanes of the said Erles revenues

^r *Vide, State Papers, Ireland, Vol. XXIX. No. 64.*

revenues and the rest of ther revenews aft^r the sustentation of ther wiffes reserved to be answerable to vs as the law shall order And because yow may better consider what shalbe mete to be provided for them, yow shall vnderstand by estimation of their ordinary charges in person & of such oth^r sommes of money, as hath ben lent & payed on the behalf of the said Erle & his broth^r, sence their last comming out of Irland by a writing delivered to this bearer o^r servant Humfrey Gilbert, who hath remayned here, as we have perceaved contrary to his own will from his place of service there, by reason of his daungerous sicknes this sommer, wherof being ones recovered he fell into the same again So as vntill this present it semmed he could not conveniently depart hence towards his service there, And therfore we wold have yo^w to graunt him allowance of such interteynem^t as perteyneth to his charg and as largely as he shuld have ben allowed, if he had ben there present all this tyme w^{ch} we do more favorably yeld vnto him, becaus we iudg him a faythfull servant and ocry toward & well able to serve vs not only in the place, wherof he hath charg, but of somme better, if any such were there voyde, whervnto he might be preferred.

[*Not signed.*]⁸

[*Endorsed:—*] M. 24 october. 1568

To the L. deputy of Irland, touching thearle of Desmunds revenues to be answerable for his charges in the Towre. Recommend' for m^r Gilberts pay.

⁸ *Vide, State Papers, Ireland, Vol. XXVI. No. 6.*

CAPTAIN H. GYLBERTE TO CECILL. SERVICE IN MUNSTER
AS COLONEL.

1569, October 18.

LIMERICK.

R. ho: yt plesed my Lo. Depute and the Counsell heyr to euse ther autoryte in commandynge me to serue in Munster, Colonell of her Ma^{tes} Sodiers ther. Leuyng also the hoell gov'nement in my handes of all that prouynse moste hvm-belly besechyng yo^r ho. accordynge to yo^r wanted courtesy to be good vnto me, and wth fauo^r to beyr up the imperfections of my governement. seyng that it was layd vppon me myche againste my wyll. I makynge moste ernyste and hombell sheuyt to the contrary. knowynge my vnsuffy-fientorys to be foyche, boeth for wante of yers, experyense, and all other vertewys, necessary for foyche an offyser. that autoryte was to me but a swyet poyson, that wolde in thende torne to my confusion and vtter dyscredytt, rather then to the increyse of my pouer reputation. moste hvm-belly defyrng yo^r ho. therfoer to reuoেকে me from hense, wth expedyfion lest that I shouelde boethe hynder the Quyens Ma^{tes} feruys, and loyse that lyttell credytt wthin a fewe dayes, w^{ch} I haue all my lyeffe travelyd for. farther yf I should not haue lezue to comme into Ingelande the nexte sprynge, to feycke remyde for my eyes, yt myghte grow to be incurabell, to my vtter vndouynge. hopyng that yo^r ho wyll haue confideration of me yo^r pouer folloer, that haethe alwayes cheyffely dependyd on yo^r freyndeshyppe, lest that thys my beinge callyd to tymely to governe others (not beyng master of my selffe) shouelde be my vtter vndouynge. I am accom-
panyd

panyd wth tow honeste and worthe gentelmen, captaine Warde, and capta Sheuytt. whoues last seruyfes haethe deferuyd boethe reputation and rewarde assurenge yo^w that capt Warde, dyd serue moste valiently at the besegyng of Kylmallocke, and also at the wyndyng of a stronge castell callyd garrysonne in Conyloughe: wher hym selffe fyrste enteryd, and kyllid the fyrste man. ther dyd a younge gentleman that ys saruant to my la Mary Sydne serue also very valiently. callyd Edgertoune. moste hvmbelly besechyng yo^r hono^r to be a meane heyr after when tyme shall better serue, for the rewardyng of them, accordyngly, and so I moste hvmbelly commytt yo^r ho. to god restyng yo^r ho moste hvmbell to commande from Lymberycke the 18th of Octob^r 1569 Yo^r. ho. moste hvmbell

H. GYLBERTE.⁹

CAPTAIN JOHN WARDE TO CECILL. BRAVERY OF COL.
GYLBERTE.

1569, October 18.
LIMERICK.

Righte honorable my dowtye moste hvmbley doone; these are according to yo^r honno^{rs} Commandement, to Advertyse yo^r honno^r, as thinges hath happened in these partes since my arrivall. I was lefte by my L deutey in Limbricke, were the Cronoll m^r Gilbert laye wth his horse band. And on the 23 of September the Cronnell departed wth his Compannye and myne to Killmallocke vpon Credable Advertyfemente, that the rebelles would that nighte coome to besedge and borne the towne. And in deyde they came

⁹ *Vide, State Papers, Ireland, Vol. XXIX. No. 67.*

came the nexte day wthin halffe a mylle of the towne wth 2000 footemen and near 60 horsfemen, meaninge to haue kept vs all wthin the towne, and there to haue fammyshed vs. And that tyme the Coronell beinge in greate dowte of the fydelitytey of the townefmen vppon good cawse, Appoynted me to man all the gattes and postornes of the towne, and wth the reste of my Compannye to defende sertaine straighes wthowte the towne (All w^{ch} was done not wthowte good Confyderacon of the Coronell) Comandinge me vppon paine of deathe not to removfe my selff nor none of my Compannye from the plase he appoynted vs. This done the Coronell mownted him self and his Bande on horsebacke, meaning as he fayed onley to salley owte to vewe them, but beinge in the feld they enteride into skyrmyfhe thenemye devydinge his forfes in two partes in w^{ch} skyrmyfhe the Coronell him self first chardged there L. of Shote Cearne and galleglasses, and drovfe them into there Battell, at the w^{ch} chardge the Coronell horse was shote thorowe wth a harquebuz and hurte wth a galleglasse axe, & his targate strocken thorowe wth a sparre. After this fume of the Coronelles compannye vncomanded passed over a fowrd to haue charged the holle Battell, where vppon the Cronnell wth the reste of his Companney was inforced to followe them for there Better derection, and they were no souner over the fowrde, but the rebelles wth there holle force of horse and footemen, Chardged the Coronelles Compannye, were vppon they were in forced to retyer, w^{ch} throwe the Suddennysse of the matter bred such disorder as they had bene all dystressede, yf the Cronnell had not most valleantley being the last man wth his owne handes defended the fowrde, against all thenemyes whillest all his Bande passed over, (as the rebelles synce they

they came in dyde confese). In this chardge the Cronnell wth his owne handes dyde vnhorse twoe, flewe owne and hurt vj of them, they beinge above xx^{te} horsemen that charged vppon him self, besydes fertaine galloglasses, and aboue as manney more that followinge the chafe of his band that were betwen him and his Compannye, And yet by the greate blyffinge of gode, he bracke thorowe them all, and effkapped vn hurte to the preseruinge of his holle Compannee, Savinge owne of his men w^{ch} was slaine. The next day the Cronnell was inforced to goe wth his horsemen to Corke, beinge xxiiij^{te} mylles of, for the bringinge of Capt. Shewte Bande to goyne wth me to the ende he might goe into felde, to fyght wth the rebelles (And was a way for the fynnyshinge of this entertryse viij daies, all w^{ch} tyme, the rebelles dyde Befedge the towne, Burninge the Contrey rownde a bowte) Comandinge me before his departure onley to defende the chefe towne, fyndinge the basse towne to be so weake, as that yt was skasley gardabell (And yet I prayse god. I dyde defende bothe the owne and the other w^{ch} beinge more then the Coronell looked for, dyde lecke a moste nobell gentellman most thanckfullye excepte the same) I asure yo^r honno^r yt was owne of the nobellest & dangerouse enterpryse, that ever I knewe taken in hande, the bringinge of vs to gether thenemye lyenge betwene vs & them, onley to haue cutt them of, & yet dyd he by so manney fundrey straye jaymes so wysely vse the matter, as that he browghte vs all to gether wthowt the loofe of anney one man (The Carre & Trowble of this service, thorewe the Coronell in a fever w^{ch} god be praysed he ys perfetley recovered). After the Joyninge of ower Compannyes to gether we stayed, but one day,
And

And on the viijth day of October went into the felde, and in camped that nighte into thenemyse countrey And the nexte day in Camped in garryfetowne were was owne of the strongest & principalles Castell that the rebelles had, & immedyatlye, vppon the lodginge of owre campe, the Coronell toke Capt Shewt & me to accompany him to vewe the Castell, at w^{ch} tyme Craves Cap^{en} shewtes lyvetenaunte was shot thorowe the thye wth a harquebuz shote. And immedyatlye vppon ower retorne the Coronell mownted him selfe, and his holle companye on horsebacke, Comanding all the soldiors to stande in order of battell, & left Cap^{en} Shewte wth them. Appoyntinge me to take xl^e of my soldiors wth my lyvetenaunte enseigne and Sargeantes, and in Companye of me Tanner Cap^{en} shewtes enseigne to approtche the Castell. And god be prayfed for yt wthin thre howres we wane yt, and dyd put to fowrde neare xl personnes The Cronnell commanding me vppon payne of deathe to put them all to the fowrde. durringe this tyme the rebelles wth his holle powre lay wthin half a mylle of the Campe, and to Conclewde, In this Jurney we followed thennemye, thorowe all his stranges passinge a longe the mowntayne fyde, returnynge home by the shennyng And so thorowe the harte of Conneloe and Kenrey, were never any englyshe enseigne or gydden was displayed, nether yet writt fved, or anny Commyssyoners fatt for the prynce, synce the first conquest as all the Contrey confesseth, to Conclewde the Coronell wth his owne Compannye winynge twoe Castelles before putting all that werre wthin them, to the fowrde, and doinge the lecke now garrefetowne beinge so soone woone, the Accownting yt in pryable, wth the service of his owne person at Killmallok They accowntinge him
more

more lecker a devell then a man And are so affarde of him, that they leve, and geve vpp in this Journey all the Castelles, Following, viz. Craghan, Castell, the Ralff Ballegeltegone, Gillemakno of Suppelles, Killfenney, Penston, Lesemottey, Ballangoare, Ballerenowe, The Newe towne, balleallenay, the newe Castell, Killanohwne, Cortenaytowbryte Dwnmoellen, Shannet, S^t Patterickes hill, Corragg, Honne, the Pallyse, Baldon, Robert Towne, Asketon Wheyn, Castell towne, Rynekerkey, Pelleglohane, & dyvers other Castelles w^{ch} I haue not named. And this gennerally ys the Coronelles order, w^{ch} by no meanes nore entreteye he will breake wth ys, that yf any Castell doo not yelde vnto him vppon the first summonynge, he will not Afterwarde harken to no parle, but wyne yt perforce, who manney of his soldiours lyves foever yt Cost him, and put man woman and Children to the fowrde, so that I thincke they are so well acquaynted wth his Condysiones as that I thincke they will note defende no Castell against him. And there ys no owne that he doeth trust, wthowt fweringe him to the quenes Ma^{tes} taking great bandes of them and ther Children or other there best pledges. And the Cheffest and pryncipall of James men sewythe to the Corronell to come for the Quenes Ma^{tes} mercey, w^{ch} he by no meanes would receyve anny of them, but by there hvmble sewte vppon there kneys, so that the evell for Fare, & the good Subiect thorowe his courteseye, are bothe browhte in suche lufe and feare of him as I thincke the lecke was never seyne in so short a tyme Assuring yo^r honno^r that allthoughe I knewe him to be a vallyaunt & wordye gentellman, yet dide not I nor no man else thinck that he hade bene half so sufficient as he ys, for goverment in plase

of great chardge, bothe marfhally & feually. In this Jurney was killed Owen Mackefhe a Capt of galloglaſſes, & on the xv of this monneth the Coronell dyd hange drawe and quarter at Limbrick Conner mackefhe & W^m Mackefhe brothers to owen mackfhe beinge all Captaines of galloglaſſes. They were thre of the notabelles mallefactars, that by the reporte of the Countrey as ever was hard of in all mvnſter, and ſuche as they of the Countrey was gladther of the death of them, then yf they had hade geven then a houndred thowfande powndes there was alſo on Lacye who put his ſonne in pledge, dyde reſyſt againe was hanged & quar^{td} as the other is. I ſeace wth my praier for yo^r prosperous health &c. From Limbricke the xvij^t of October an^o 1569.

Yo^r honno^{rs} moſt hvmble Servaunte

JOHN WAERD.¹⁰

RECKONING OF SIR HUMFREY GYLBERTE, COL. ESTIMATE
OF THREE MONTHS. 1570 MARCH 31.

The Reconing of S^r Humfrey Gilberte Knight having the leading of cth harquebufiers on horſeback wth ccth kernes togethers wth his diettes as Colonell of Certaine Bandes wthin the province of Mounſter as folowith viz.

Fiſt for his owne diettes as	} cclxvj ^{li} xiijs iiij ^d	}
Colonell after the rate of xx s.		
ſter' per diem for cc daies be-		
gyning xiiij ^o Septembeis 1569		
and ending vltimo marcii 1570.		
Amounting to cc li. ſter' fac'		
iriſhe		

For

¹⁰ Vide, *State Papers, Ireland*, Vol. XXIX. No. 68.

For his wagies at viijs. per
diem peticappetaine at iiij s.
per diem Gurydon bearer at
ijs. per diem one Trompetor
one Surgeon and cth Harque-
busiers on horseback at xij d the
pece per diem for Dccccxxvij
daies begynning the
xvjth of Septembr'
1569 and ending the
last of marche 1570 aforefaid
amounting vnto

Also for his wages as a Cap-
peten of kernes at iiij s. per
diem and ccth kernes at vj d.
the pece per diem for ciiij^{xx}xij
daies begynning the xxth of Sep-
tembr. 1569 and ending the
last of marche 1570. aforefaid
amounting to

Likewise dewe by a Concor-
datum dated xj^o Januarii 1569
graunted by the Lorde deputie
and Counsaile for diuerse ex-
traordinarie chardges.

Checques to and for the last
of Septembr. 1569 as by lj war-
runtes made for that by me
apperith.

m^t
vccclxxvijⁱⁱ
xij^s

m^t
viijlxvⁱⁱ. v^s
iiij^d
Whereof

M^t lxxij li.

cccl li.
In all

lxxvijs.

Prestes

Prestes deliuered as in thac-
compt of S^r Willm. Fitz
Willms. determyned before the
Comiffioners apperith ¹ ^{xx} m ^{li} ^{li} ^{li} ^{li}.
xiijs ix^d ob- more fythence that
Accompt at xix feuerall tymes

Defalked and
paid within the
said tyme viz.
In

by the same S^r Willm.
^c viijl viij^{li} xj s. x d. ob. q^r.

by Roger Maynwaring in Ire-
land lxxviij li. ij d. and in Ing-
land viij^o die febr. 1569 as by
Certificat out of the receipt
Apperith dclxvj li. xiijs. iiij d.
and one pay to Patricke mery-
man vij li. xij s. iiij d- In all

Viſtualles by Thomas Might
viſtualler before the laſt of
auguſt 1568 xl li. xvj s. xd. and
in the iorney into Mounſter
^{xx} iiij xvj li. ix s. iiij d- In all

Beves Receyved in the
Campe viz. cxxviij di. at vj s.
viij d- ſter. the pece

Mvnicions certified by the
Mr of the Ordynaunce to and
for the laſt of Septembre 1569

The phificion poticarye &c.
John Thomas by warraunt
xx^o ſept. 1568

t t c ^{xx}
MMvj ^{li} ^{li} ^{li}
xiiij^{li} xj^s
vj^d q^r

^{mt}
iijclxxij^{li} xj^s x^d
ob. q^r di irishe

cxxxviij^{li}
xiiij^d

lvij^{li} ijs ij^d
ob. di. q^r.

^{xx}
cciiij li. iiij d.

lxxij^{li} ix^s ij^d

xviij^{li} xiijs iiij^d

Richard

Richard Paule ij ^{do} Novem- bris 1568	}	cvj s. viij d.	
Nicholas Fitzsymondes by two warruntes	}	cxxvij ^{li} xiiij ^d ob. q ^r .	
Christofer Sedgrave by ij warruntes	}	lx ^{li} xvij ^s jd q ^r	
Gyles Allen by ij warruntes	}	lxxvij ^s viij ^d	
Thomas Pynnock by warr.	}	lxvj ^s viij ^d	
xx ^o Aprilis 1569	}	xx ^{li} xvij ^s iiij ^d	
Raphe Sygerfon per warrant ix ^o Maii 1569	}		
And so remaneth Clere dewe viz. To John Strawbridge	}	xliij ^{li}	^{rt} iij ^c viij ^{xx} iij xij ^{li} xij ^s v ^d di. q ^r . ir.
xix ^o Aprilis 1569	}	lxvj ^s viij ^d	
Robt. Comaunder by bill xviiij ^{no} Junii 1569.	}		
Henry Owftell late lieuten- aunt w th vj li. xvij ^s . jd. thereof dewe to James Foster of Dublin Tailor w ^{ch} is to be staid for his vfe	}	cxxvij ^{li} vj ^s x ^d ob ^r .	
The faid Cappetaine for him self the payment of his Sol- diors other Creditors and the Contrye	}	^{mt} iij ^c iij xv ^{li} viij ^s viij ^d ob. di. q ^r	
M ^d there wilbe further dewe to him and his Band of Harquebufiers for ^{xx} iij xj daies to end the last of June 1570 at cxvj ^s . per diem ut antea	}		Dxxvij ^{li} xvj ^s irish
And then thole dewe to and for the last of June 1570 ut supra is	}	^m iij ^c iij xx ^{li} ix ^s v ^d di. q ^r ir. makege MMMccccxv ^{li} vij ^s ob. q ^r di- sterling.	What

What Checques are to be defalked or mvnicians sithence the last of Septembre 1569. what victualles are deliuered by John Thickpenny in Mvnster during his aboade there or what further imprestes by are bene deliuered in Ireland sithence the last of marche 1570 I knowe not.¹¹

[*Endorsed*:—] Sur Humfrey Gilbertes Reconing.

THE EARL OF ORMOND' TO MR. HENEAGE. GYLBERTE'S
SERVICES.

Extract

S^r wheare youe wryte of S^r Gilbertes sarvice, being commended from hens, and so well lyked by the counseill there. Allthoughe m^r Gilberte did vse somme travayle and care, in castinge water on the fyre, wherby the flame ceased, for a tyme, yet quenched he not the cooles in fuche forte, But that as grete a flame beganne wth asmoche heate, as consumed somme tyme a houndred at ons. And I dwellinge nere, where this mischief was, could not be a stranger to there procedinges in the west. But that w^{ch} dud moste offende me, and move me to wryte myne opinion of his sarvice then, was that, I founde the west where he sarved in fuche disorder, as the Quenes Officer had a houndred and moo of his men slayne by the rebell James fitz moryce, and no true subiect could travayle in quiet there, wthout dawnger of lyfe. I have bene at excedinge charges during this tyme of my Sarvice in Thomonde, not onely in furnishinge myne awne men wth victuall, But also fuche foldio^{rs} as sarved wth me this last io^{ney}; I victualled vppon myne awne money, (as they can
witness

¹¹ *Vide, State Papers, Ireland, Vol. XXX. No. 36.*

witnes themselves) This was I fayne to do, for that my Lorde Deputie told me he had no money left to delyver vnto me. Whate enterteynement Gilbert had, I nede not to wryte for that youe knowinge his place, and company may sone gefs his entertaynement, (w^{ch} I envie not) But I wold the Quene knewe, whate differens there is betwen him that farveth at his awne pursf, wth nombers of men, and he that receaveth pay for him felf and his men. I haue written vnto youe a disco's of my procedinges in the thomond, in another lettre by my fervaunte Richarde White. And do fend youe herinclofed a brief note of all the castels there that be of any value w^{ch} I brought to obediens, and stand vppon affurance, wth the Names of the pledges that remayneth for the perfourmance of the fame. At my reto'ne this last io'ney out of Thomonde, I put to execution two notoriouse malefacto^{rs} who were the chefeft Instrumēt that James fitz morice had sins the begininge of his rebellion wth fowre of there men, and sent there heades, to my Lorde Deputie, as a token the rest of my farvice, and doinges there, I hope my lorde Deputie, and counseill will more at lardge aduertise thether. . . . From [my] howse at Carrick this iiijth of Julii 1570.

[Signed]

Yours veray assured

THOMAS ORMONDE.¹²

July 4, 1570.

[Addressed:—] To my veray loving frend M^r Heneage.

¹² *Vide, State Papers, Ireland, Vol. XXX. No. 68.*

ABSTRACT OF SIR HUMFREY GYLBERTE'S LETTERS PATENT
AS SURVEYOR GENERAL OF HORSES, ARMOUR, &c.

1571 June 25.

An abſtraſte of the effectuall claſſes containd in her ma^{tes} lres. Patentes dated at Weſton. the 25 daye of June in the 13 yere of her highnes raigne graunted for ſeaven yeres to S^r humfreye Gylberte knighte tooching the execution of the Acte made Anno triceſimo tercii henrici octauⁱ intituled an Acte for the mayntenaunce of artyllerye debarringe vnlawfull games And of the Acte made Annis quarto & quinto Philippi & Marie intituled An Acte for the hauinge of horſe armor and weapon &c as followeth.

1. A commaundemente to the L Keper and L Chauncel^{lor} of England for the time beinge that theye for ſeaven yeres nexte inſuinge the date of the ſaide patent^{es} at the requeſte of the ſaide f^r humfreye Gylberte ſhall make Commiſſions vnder the greate ſeale &c retornable into Thexchequier to be directed to ſutche diſcrete perſons as vnder the handes of ſix of the pryvie Counſell ſhalbe thereunto named and appointed to inquier of and vppon the ſaide ſeuerall ſtatutes &c.

2. Authoretye given to ſix of the pryvy Counſell for the time beinge at the ſuyte of the ſaide f^r humfreye from time to time duringe ſeaven yeres to nominate & appointe the ſaide Commiſſioners and to authoriſe them to compo^{und}e wth the perſons offendinge the ſaide ſtatutes accordinge to ſutche
rates

rates and instruccions as from time to time to be sente to the faide Lorde Keper or L Chauncellor beinge subscribed wth the handes of fix of the pryvye Counsell and to be annexed to the faide commiſſions ſhalbe limited and appointed So alwayes that euerye perſon ſo compowndinge paye their monye to the faide ſ^r humfreye or his deputye wthin ſutche time as by a bill indented betwene the faide Commiſſioners and them ſhalbe limited.

3. A commaundem^t to the faide Commiſſioners that in caſe anye perſon ſhalbe founde offendinge the faide ſtatutes and doe not compownde Then theye to certefye into the Cowrte of Exchequier his or their defawltes that ſhall ſo reſuſe to compound to thende that theye maye ſuffer thextremetye of the lawes wthowte that theye ſhalbe diſchardged by anye ſeconde compoſicion to be made in that behalf.

4. And for the better anſweringe of the monye comminge to her ma^{ty} by the faide compoſicions ſhe hathe commanded the faide ſ^r humfreye that he ſhall cauſe the ſame compoſicions to be written in bills indented whereof one parte to be ſigned wth the handes of anye of the faide Commiſſioners and of the faide ſ^r humfreye or his deputye &c and of the perſon compoundinge ſhalbe certefied into Thexchequier And the other parte thereof to be ſigned by the faide Commiſſioners and the faide ſ^r humfreye or his deputye &c ſhall remayne wth the perſon ſo compoundinge for a remembraunce of his diſchardged in that behalf.

5. The faide f^r humfreye Gylberte is appointed generall Receyvo^r of all the sommes of monye growinge by the faide compoficions And he to ftand accomptable for the fame in the Cowrte of Exchequier-

6. A graunte to the faide f^r humfreye in confideracion of his fee and travell to be taken in and abowte the Colleccion of the monye aforefaide of thone moyetye and one fyvethe parte of thother moyetye of the faide fomme and sommes of monye And that the faide f^r humfreye fhall enter into bonde in the Cowrte of Exchequier before the receavinge of anye of the Comiffions aforefaide for the true accomptinge and anfweringe of the faide fowre partes growinge to her highnes by anye the meanes aforefaide.

7. A commaundemente to the L Threfourer & Juftices of bothe benches &c to awarde writtes and other proceffes againfte futch as will not compownde To thende theye maye fuffer thextremetye of the lawes And after the recoverye of anye futch fomme and sommes of monye to deliuer vnto the faide f^r humfreye or his deputye &c. thone moyetye thereof and the fyfte parte of thother moyetye And the fower partes of that other moyetye remayninge to be payde into Thexchequier as aforefaide-

8. A farther commaudem^t to all Judges and Juftices that theye after notice giuen vnto them in futch manner & forme as in the faide lres. patentis is mencioned fhall not award anye proceffes againfte the perfons fo compoundinge for anye the offences w^{ch} theye haue compounded for before.

9. And

9. And for a more furer dischardge of the persons so compoundinge a commaundemente to the L Thresowrer and Barons of Thexchequier that theye vppon requeste of the faide S^r humfreye or of his deputie &c or of anye the persons so compowndinge shall certefye by one transcripte vnder the seale of the faide Cowrte of Thexchequier to L Keper or L Chauncello^r for the time beinge the names of all the persons compoundinge and w^{ch} shalbe containyd in anye one certificat from the Commiffioners And a like commaundement to the faide L Keper or L Chauncello^r that theye vppon requeste as is aforefaid shall passe their pardons in that behalf And that there shalbe no more fees payde for the same transcriptes and pardons then as thoughe theye did contayne but onlye one name and person.

10. A graunte on her Ma^{tes} parte to pardon none after compoficion made, or after certificat or Informacion thereof entered in forme aforefaide, save onlye for her fow^r partes reserved as aforefaide.

11. A Prouiso that yt be specefied in the Commiffions and instruccions aforefaide that the Commiffioners haue not to doe wth anye of the nobilytye nor futch other persons as in the faide lres. patentés are excepted Onles they will of their owne mindes make compoficion.

12. A farther Prouiso that the faide Commiffioners shall not make anye compoficion wth anye person againste whom anye Informacion shalbe then dependinge And if theye shall make anye futch compoficion then the same to be voyde.

13. A

13. A warraunte and dischardge to the L Keper or L Chauncellor and to the pryvy Counsell And to the L Threfowrer and Barons of Thexchequier and to all and euery other perfons, for the doinge of anye thinge containyd in the faide lres. Patentcs.

14. A warraunte that the Commissions aforefaide shalbe made and paffed wthowte payinge anye fee or fees for the fame.

15. A warraunte to all Officers and others to whom yt shal appertayne to exonerate the faide f^r humfreye for the fommes of monye giuen and graunted to him by the lres. Patentcs aforesaid And also to exonerate the faide perfons compoundinge as aforefaide.¹³

LADY KATHARINE MOUNTJOY TO LORD BURGHLEY.
LEASE OF HOUSE FOR COPPERAS WORKS.

1572 February 15.

My very good Lorde. S^r Humfrey Gilbert hathe bene wth me, aboute the takinge of my house, who wisshethe me to give yo^r Lordshippe to vnderstande thereof. We have agreed, that if they can not mak Alam and Coperas, but by my L: or by havinge of my house then he to paye me for it 500^{li} yearelye, if otherwise 400^{li} yerelye And for the triall thereof, if it woulde please yo^r L: to appoincte twoe of yo^r learned

¹³ *Vide, State Papers, Domestic, Vol. LXXVIII. No. 46.*

learned counsaill,-I will have other twoe, and vpon their Judgemente, the matter betwene vs shalbe ended, Thus, defiringe the contynuaunce of yo^r L: frendshippe in consideringe my L: poore estate, I take my leave, from my Lodginge this xvth of Februarye in a^o dni. 1572.

Yo^r lo poore frend

KATH MOUNTIOY.¹⁴

WILLIAM MEADLEY TO LORD BURGHELEY ABOUT TRANS-
FORMING IRON INTO COPPER BY VITRIOL.

April 19, 1572.

Sithens yo^r honors able discreffion can decipher the depth of my intendyd woorkes, and yo^r noble natur leavith no honest cause eyther vnfuported w^t counsell, or vnprotected wth Justice, I am more glad that yo^r vertue shall be Judge of my honest accions, then happie by assurance of any other profytt. And for that my course is encomptred w^t contraries, I am constraned to apeall to yo^r honors worthie derection whearvnto I hymbly comytt my selff in theis enfewinge causses, begone betwixtt the rightt ho. sir thomas smyth, sir homfrey gilbartt & my selff a yeare past, for the transmutinge of yron into copper wth vitrioll, (the doinge whearof we agrede shuld be at wenchelsey & thervpon they derected me to take a house ther & provide all futch vtenfylls as to the woорke belongid. And because vitrioll cold nott presently be broght from beyond the seas, I was apointed by fyr thomas smyth to employ my labor to other works of his pleassur, & to thatt end I rec^d of his ho & fyr homfrey

100!

¹⁴ *Vide, State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol. LXXXV. No. 45.*

100^l & bestowed 94^{li} therof presently in london accordinge
 to his wyll, departing then to wenchelsey, wheare I taryed
 vij weekes in a compliffhing ther deffyers, & then returned
 to showe them whatt I had done w^{ch} they lyked veray well
 Butt after I had at lardge dyscoorffed, how vnfytt a place
 wenchelsey was for theis purpoffes, & wthall that vitrioll
 mightt be mayd in england, they wer deffyrus I shuld make
 prooff also therof for w^{ch} purpoffe they delyverd me an other
 100^{li} & so I departedt to 'poole, whear wthin one month (to
 my greatte chardge) I founde a way to woorke wth earthes in
 as greatt perfection & more proffytt then wth vitrioll, this
 (when I had showed them) we determyned to take my la
 mountioyes myns to w^{ch} purpoffe they willed me to retoorn
 to poole and make my practice to the greatestt prooffe I culd,
 & in the meane tyme promysed to take a lease of my la.
 monttiroy in all our names of the groundes ther, wheare I
 told them that althogh I had mayd lardge proff that copper
 mightt be mayde, yett I dyd the sayme w^t greatt labor in
 makinge natur ripe by artt in the earthes, w^{ch} otherwisse
 wold come to no perfection tyll they had layne 10 or 12
 monthes vnwaffhed that. ther lycors then mightt be in full
 strength, well vpon this plott I left them & so toke my iorney
 to poole wheare I taryed 3 wekes nott hearing from them &
 in that space they travaled wth my la monttiroye for a lease of
 hir groundes, in ther tow names only excludinge me outt of
 the sayme, & yett wrytt me ther lres. (w^{ch} I have) thatt all
 was dispatched & the lease taken in all our names wyllinge
 me to enter my la house as our own, & sentte me one dyck-
 konson my la man willinge me by ther lres. to explainn to
 the sayd dyckkonson the manor of our secrett of copper mak-
 ing

ing & so to putt hym in trust wth the whole woorkes, & my selff to com vpp & practtis the fyrst woorkes att wenchelsey. this strange news stirred me to come to london, wheare I found nothing done that they had wrytten me, butt they had conceueyd of a leasse & drawen the sayme & ytt was subscribed of both parttes & my name never mentioned therin. Whearatt (after I had longe storned) they lastly altered that coorffe & traualed for a leasse in all our names for one yeare w^{ch} was effected by my own atendance heare vj wekes after & att september last I entered my la house, fynding god knowth smale stoore of earthes & the sayme nott vnwasshed above a month att no tyme, so as I was then enforced to sett pyoners of woорke for the digginge of earth of my own cost & had of them no one grotte more then the first sayd 100^{li} w^{ch} was layd outt longe befoore, & yett dyd they receyve of my frynd thomas curtesse for me & of my own money threfcore poundes back agayn of thatt 200^{li} w^{ch} I rec^d of them. thus dyd I enter the woorkes laying outt 100^{li} or more for earth digginge & 50^{li} for lead w^{ch} is ther extantt in dyvers greatt caldrons, things most fytt for our greatt woорke, the previledge whearof I longe expectedd thynking lyttle my name shuld have bene excludyd theroutt well att last they wrytt me hir ma^{tie} had stayd the grantt, & then I was constranyd to alter my purposse in the myns for wheare I shuld have manvrd my earth to coper making, it stood me now vpon to wassh outt the sayd earthes & employ ytt to the ancyentt woорke of coporus, therby to dyspence wth the rentt & my greatt chardges, w^{ch} I dyd & so continewyd tyll november last sethens whan, tyll wthin this 10 dayes ther hath nott bene one tone of stooffe mayd & yett have I payd att the
least

least xxv^{li} every month to the woorkmen over & above the rentt w^{ch} thing I mvst nedes do (as shall well appeare,) & my selff spentt the tyme heare: in atendinge a new leasse att my la handes w^{ch} after I saw delayd I roode down to poole & ther have payd all the money that was dew in every sortt for & conserning the myn matters & all other things & have taken the best order I can for the making of coporus & alame the chieffe practyffes whearof I dar nott putt in vse tyll we have forther entereft in thes myns or some other, for feare my lorde monttioy gett knowledge of the secretttes therof w^{ch} to do he & his fryndes go veray inderecttly aboutt. Thus have I told yo^r ho rvdly the whole estaytt of the myns w^{ch} as I have sayd I culd neyther, by the forsayd ocaffions make able for copper making, ne yett rayse other comodaty suffy-cyentt to pay the chardge therof so thatt I looke to end a greatt loser therby through the dealings that hath bene offeryd me the confidration whearof I hvmbly comytt to yo^r noble selff, & so to my now determynation. It pleasyd yo^r honor att my speaches wth yo^u to take pity of me & nobly promysed to move hyr riall Ma^{tie} for me that my name mightt be encludyd in the previledge vpon w^{ch} woord I have relyed ever sithens, & forborne (by good reason) to troble yo^r weightier affaires wth thies trifflinge causes of myn & foras-mvntch as the new leasse passed nott betwixtt yo^r ho & my la monttioy I thoughtt it best to seke an other soyle w^{ch} I have acordingly done & found dyvers that is veray good for alame butt the vitteroll stone I have nott yett founde in futch place as is comodius for water & fewell, butt hearinge of an apar-ance of futch a myn in yorkefhier & also of a well ther w^{ch} by all lykloode comyth from futch a wayne I have provyded my selff

selff to ryed theather & make prooff of ther vertues & so certyffye yo^r honor therof. In the meane tyme perceyving my selff scorched wth yll reportt, & fynding by m^r gylberttes lres. that he lokith to have atendance of me in things that my natur can nott nor wyll nott permytt, I have thoghtt best to lay befoore yo^r honor this dyscors of all my doings in thies causses, offering nottwthstanding all my former losses, to pay presently in redy money befoore yo^r honor all futch money as I ever rec^d of hym & so to clenffe my handes of futch pytche for fuerly my lo. futch is his vayn joolosy of my doinge as I wyll noway enduer. therfor I wold have hym to receyve all the stooff that is at wenchelfey (as thyngs that can do me no pleassur) & I am contentt to have lost all this years travayll togeather wth the money that I have vaynly spentt & by repentance so deare as to pay them all ther money agayn wthout farther acomptt or putt ytt in ther choise to stand to the acomptt of the housse w^{ch} as it is nott proffyttable through the louse dealinge that I have suferyd so mightt it have bene worth 1000^{li} or 2 this yeare, even by coropus & alame as small store of earth as ther was, yf eyther I had bene in certaynty of a fvrther leese whearby I mightt have mayd full provission or yf I had bene encludyd in the lres. patentt both w^{ch} syth I wantt & wth all fynd m^r gylbertt to regard no woord nor bond that he speakyth or makyth to me or my fryndes butt thynkyth by his contenance to overlooke me I am determyned to have no fvrther to do wth hym, butt by yo^r honorable drection onlesse he offer me vyolence or yll wordes w^{ch} yf he do att his own perill for I entend to beare none my good wyll & paynfull endeavor hath bene to greatt & his dealinge futch as yf it come att lardge befoore yo^r

honor

honor I thynk yo^u wyll nott lyke well therof. In the rest (my good lo) I submytt my selffe to yo^r grave counsell & am most ready to make playn to yo^r ho. the trew cyrcvmstances of copper making in futch sortt that yo^r honor shall well perceyve that it is to be mayd in as greatt abondance as ever I spoke of in as good perfection yea & wth as lyttle chardge for yf hir Ma^{tie} wyll voutsaffe to grantt me futch benyfytt therof as my parttnors vndertoke I shuld have, I wyll be bounde to yo^r ho that lett me have only earth digged vp in a place wheare I wyll opoynctt & after I have manvrd the sayme one 12 months, I wyll thenceforth make every yeare 100 tons of perfectt copper voyde of all defecttes & rayse in the sayme place, asmytch money as shall dyspence wth the whole chardge therof aswell yron as men's waiges & every other cost. this thing yf I do nott lett me lose thatt credytt w^{ch} I deffyer to have wth yo^r honor whose raer vertues & able wysdom I so far revarence, that yf hyr Ma^{tie} deny me hyr grantt, I wyll explynn the secrett att lardg to yo^r honor that it may be employed to yo^r benyfytt to the rightt honorable lord of lecesters acording to yo^r previledg & I wyll vtterly refuse all comodaty therof betaking my selffe to some other corse & thynke my selffe rightt happy that I have anythinge worthy the presenttinge to so vertuous & noble a gent. whose greatt zeale to trew Justice & noble dysposition to every mans good this happy tyme hath well feltt & of me so far honored as I protest befoore god to acomptt more of yo^r good opynion than of all the secrettes that I have or shall tyll I dye, the servyces whearof I hvmblly to yo^r good devotion whan yo^u please to comand them, & so craving pardon for this boldnes, I leave yo^r honor to thalmightty god who
 bleffe

bleffe yo^r dayes wth all happynes to godes glory & yo^r noble
harttes deffyer. this xixth of apryll

Yo^r honors wth all my feryce
for ever

WILLYAM MEADLEY.¹⁵

[*Addressed:—*] To the rightt honorable and my fingulor good Lord the Lord
Burghley.

WILLIAM MEADLEY TO LORD BURGHLEY, ON CHANGING
IRON TO COPPER BY VITRIOL.

May 19, 1572.

Having longe & to my greatt chardges expectted an end
of the copper matters (my rightt noble lo) I fynd my selff so
encomptred by m^r gilbarttes mallyce & fowle polycye, wthout
any originall of truth Justice or honesty, thatt I may well
dyspaire, how to reap the good of my own honest deserttes,
onles the vertue of yo^r noble lo wyll bring my inocensy
abroade, to whom as of earst I mayd a lardge dyscoursse of
thes causses, so am I (eftsons bolde) to troble yo^r honor, wth
my hvmble petifion for a speedy end therof. Sithens I saw
yo^r lo. I have wth greatt delygence foughtt in dyvers contreys
for an aptt soyle to thes purpoffes & I have att last founde
one wthin 60 myles of this towne that aboundyth so mvтч wth
all maner of nedfull ore to our behove, so stored wth fewell
neare the sea & futch plenty of the sea weede theraboutt,
thatt I can wyfsh no better place, & I am offred xxx^{tie} akers
of the fayme grownd wth a fayre dwelling housse vpon ytt &
fynally every other thyng thatt may steade o^r necessary vse,
(save only vtenfylls w^{ch} I can provyde my selff) for xx^{li} rentt a
yeare

¹⁵ *Vide, State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol. LXXXVI. No. 14.*

yeare & the sayme grownd is to be had by leasse or otherwyse as may best seme good to yo^r honor. Hearof I thoughtt ytt my bounden duty to tell yo^r noble lo. most hvmibly craving yo^r honors answer wheather I shall be encludyd in the patentt or no. thatt yf I be I may wth all speede go in hand to manvre this foresayd soyle, & perseaver to the effectt of my wrytten promysse, & yf I shall nott then (my noble lo.) lett ytt fvyfye that I have done my best endeavor, & rec^d futch repulffe as I thynke never was offred poore gentylman, by the coruptt hvmor of m^r gylbertte, whose lowffe dealinge in thes & other greatter causses wyll be mayd planeor to yo^r honor, when yo^r oportvnaty wyll permytt the hearing therof In the mean tyme forasmytch as this matter of transmutacion standyth only vpon the ripyng of earthes & now is a chieff tyme for the sayme, I wyll vpon yo^r honorable promys thatt my name shall be in the patentt, departt hearehence & take order for diggyng the soyle & speedy effectting of every other prvpoffe. And for thacomptt w^{ch} is betwyxtt the rightt honorable fyr thomas smyth m^r gylbertt & my selffe, because fyr thomas is absennt & we are joynttly bounde to my la montt-ioye for the rentt of hyr houffe w^{ch} is nott dew tyll september nextt, I thynke ytt my best to lett the whole reckning rest tyll thatt daye, when yo^r honor shall be Judge to my vsaige in each accion both passed & to come, the confederation whearof I most hvmibly comytt to yo^r noble selffe, & my fely feryce wth all thatt I can do to yo^r honorable devotion, as to one whome I do & most trewly honor in the rightt of yo^r lo raer vertues w^{ch} god encrease to yo^r honors chyeff felycytye & happynes this 19 of may 1572

Yo^r honors in all hvmblenes to Comand

[Signed:—]

WILLYAM MEADLEY.
postea.

possea.

Yf hyr riall Ma^{tie} wyll nott be my grativs la so far as to enclud my name in hyr highnes grantt, then my lo. yf yo^r honor pleasse to exclude gylbartt (to whom I am & ever wyll be so greatt an enymy in thes causses as he hath deservyd) I shal take the soyle for my lo of lecester & yo^r lo & make the cvnnyng manyfest to any yf yo^u pleasse to apoync^t me, acordinge to the dewty of my promys, wth whatt speed yo^r honor shal comand me as knowth god to whom I hymbly comytt yo^r honor. most bounden¹⁶

[*Addressed*:—] To [the rightt hon]orable and [my veray goo]d Lo. the L. [Bur]ghley heigh Secreter[y] to the Quens excellent Ma^{tie} and knight of the honorable order of garter.

PETITION OF DIVERS GENTLEMEN; ENDORSED, SIR HUMFREY GYLBERTE, SIR GEORGE PECKHAM, ETC.

March 22, 1574.

To the Queenes moste excellent maiestie, our moste gracious fouereigne lady.

Moste humbly beseecheth your moste excellent maiestie, your faithfull subiects dyuers gentlemen of the west partes in yo^r Realme of England, That it will please yo^r Highnes of yo^r moste noble Disposition and fauour to the Christian faithe, and the honnour of yo^r maiestie, and proffit of your Realme and Subiectes, To alowe an enterprife by vs Conceyued, and (with the helpe of god) vnder the protection of your moste Pryncely name and goodnes, at o^r charges and aduenture of o^r persons and goods, to be perfourmed, for discouery of fundry Ritche and vnknown landes, Fatally, (and as it seemeth by gods prouidence) referued for England
and

¹⁶ *Vide, State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol. LXXXVI.*

and for the honno^r of yo^r ma^{ty}; Of w^{ch} Attempt, wee haue good and probable Reasons to assure vs, easye and feisible meanes to atteyne it, and the Comodities bee large, withoute Iniury or iust offence to eny Prynce of Christendom, As wee wilbee redy to shewe, where yo^r ma^{ty} shall commaunde: And if it will please yo^r ma^{ty} to graunte farther vnto vs, yo^r highnes fauo^r-able Commendacions to futch Prynces and States as shalbee Requifit, as of yo^r true and lafull Subiectes. And that yo^r ma^{ty} will give vs encooragement, with yo^r highnes mo^{ste} Royill and gracious graunte, and promise, That when o^r trauaills shall faule oute to good and profitabile effecte, wee wth o^r Company and parteners may haue futch Assurance and priuiledge of yo^r mo^{ste} pryncely goodnes, as it shall not bee leeffull for others to enioy the frute of o^r labours and aduentures. And wee shall not only cary together wth the benefit of Christian fayth, the mo^{ste} honno^rable Renowne alre^dy largely knowen, to the knowen worlde of yo^r ma^{tes} mo^{ste} noble vertues and Souereigntie into the farthest partes of the Earth; But also daylie pray to god longe to preferue yo^r highnes with all encrease of honno^r and Domynion.¹⁷

[*Endorsed:—*] 833. 22 Martii 1573. Supplication of certen gent. in the west partes for a newe nauigacon. To the Q. Ma^{tie}.

SIR HUMFREY GYLBERTE'S REPORT, 1572; DISCOURSE ON
IRELAND.

The v^t parte of Ireland onelye inhabited by the English men or Subiect to England called the English pale.

Ireland more chardgeable in kepinge thereof then profit-able vnto England.

One

¹⁷ *Vide, State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol. XCV. No. 63.*

One parte of Ireland of xxx myles longe and viij myle in the leaft place broade. Off as good ground as eny in England, nowe lienge defolate and partely offred by the Quene to *Sr A. C. v. G.* and others to wyne and holde it of hir.

Reasons of the Dangers of Ireland remaynyng vncyvyll.

Furft remaynyng vncyvyll devided in factions and full of Rebellions it cannot longe contynue in fo fure ftate as it wolde beinge vnited and ftablished vnder good lawes.

For divifion and vprores are caufes of Confufion, a way made open to thentrye of enemyes, There custome of Rebellion fheweth there defire of monarchie amonge them felves as fone as oportunitie is offred.

They are nowe more apt therevnto by dayly encrease in vfe of warlicke exercifes knowledge and vfe of mvnition wth nowe is farre other then it was when the people were more favadge and barbaroufe.

Thend of Rebbellion tumultes is vncertaine the contry apt to haue ayde of Spanyardes or fcottes or bothe and alfo of other Contries and that by warre by mariadge or defire of Conqueft vpon cyvill tumultes.

The fpanyardes defiring conqueft are in great fufpicion for ther famyliaritie wth the contrye men ther great traffique yerely wth them at the leaft wth vj^c faile of Shippes and barckes for Fiffhinge onelye besides other.

Great occafion why fpaine fhuld defire it for neernes of Contrye for neceffitie of Fishing wth they may not lacke and the hablenes of the thinge to be kept and annoyance of us beinge enemyes, the licke refon for Fraunce how dangerous the losse of Ireland vnto the Irish nacion would be vnto
England

England Scotland may be an example of other nacions the worffe howe vnprofitable the losse of the trefure w^{ch} Ireland beinge cyvill would yeld England may easely be geaffed and the losse of the same to be Irrecouerable, the frutefullnes of the soyle the plentye of all victuelles the strength of groundes castells townes wth the nombre and strength of Comodious and lardge havens do geue manifest proufe and forwarninge of.

What benefites may growe vnto Ingland by makinge Ireland cyvill and vnder Subiection of good lawes.

The anoyed
rebellion.

The furst and principall is the assured subiection of Ireland there quietnes w^{thout} rebellions and therebie Expences saued. a savinge of great expence to treasure w^{ch} nowe the crowne of England is often and yerely chardged wth all.

Ireland kept
subject vnto
England.

The second is the preservacion of the Irish empire from the conquest of the spaniardes Frenche men and other nacions the w^{ch} is nowe more to be dowbted then heretofore it hath bene and more perillous for England

To England a
necessari frend
or a hurtfull
enemye.

then when Callis was Englishe and if Ireland shuld also be wonne from England Then England shuld be bordered on eche side as occasion might sone fall owt wth vnfsure and daungerous neighbours whereof let Scotland be a president for us.

The great proffit that in short tyme would growe vnto England by the revenues of landes, gotten *yn* of wardships customes, subsidies, mynes and many other waies w^{ch} may be of great valuer in short tyme.

The customes of Merchauntes and Fishermen by the seas w^{ch} also may be veary great and profitable.

The

The great proffit that may growe vnto English merchauntes of Irish wares nowe in the handes of straungers.

The licke to the English nauye of fisshing and for maintenaunce of the same better then others wthowt exception.

The kepinge hereby the spanishe nacion in such aduantage of pollycye as they shall feare us, they shall nede us and there state to stand subiect to the revenge of o^r displeasures to ther great perill, and we to preuent and exempt o^r felves by this meanes owt of the licke inconvenience and perill of subiection vnto ther malice-

The great and yerely proffites that shall Com of myneralles and mettalles w^{ch} may be veary great.

The maner and way howe to bringe Ireland vnder cyvill gouernaunce and howe to kepe them so wth the chardge thereof vnto England.

Furst drawe from them the trade and relieffe w^{ch} they haue of the spanyardes and let them haue it by traffique of Englishmen, w^{ch} shall not onely procure love of them vnto the English nacion but also bringe them into that necessitie for ther victuelling and lyving by english men as they shalbe dryven to kepe obedience vnto the prince of England and amytie wth the English nacion-

Also to haue allwaies the nobilities children of Ireland to be pages of honor to the kinge of England to be trayned vppe in his Court duringe ther childhode and allwaies to haue pledges here of persons and in tyme suspicions.

To haue vpon eche haven of Ireland fortresses to be made to be kept wth a garrison of English souldiors and the like in euery notable porte towne and this to be done in euery

quarter of Ireland Easte, west, north and fowthe, and theis to be maynteyned by contrybucion of Irish inhabitantes adiownynge for the defence of them selves and ther goodes against the spoiles and incurfions of the wylde Irish and of cyvill broyles.

Item to let as many tenures in chiefe in Ireland and the wardes as they fall to be broght into Ingland. This to be done wth exchandge of land w^{ch} the nobilitie and gentlemen fomewhat better then theires-

Item to haue it confirmed by act of parliament that who foeuer after a certaine day bringeth eny mvnicion and weapons vnto the wylde Irish to forfeit his shippe and goodes.

The petitions to be required of the Queenes ma^{ie}.

Furst to haue graunt of the Ile of Balletymore wth a Frerye standinge therein vpon w^{ch} ther must be a fortification made.

Secondlie to haue an Iland wth in the harbor of Balletymo'e in w^{ch} the spanyardes lye aground duringe the tyme of there fiffhing wherein also there must be a forte made to kepe the shippes in For that thother roade is of fuche lardgnes, as, vpon comynge of eny tempest they are in perill of wracke.

Thirdly, where the spaynardes and biskeins vse yerely to fishe from the foreland of Balskey all w^{ch} hir ma^{ies} streame painge no custome to hir highnes to haue aswell of them as of fuche others as shalbe traffiquers thither for wyne Salt Iron and fuche other wares as they bringe fuche reasonable custome from tyme to tyme as by yo^r ma^{ie} shalbe thoght reasonable and convenient.

Fowrthly, to haue of all fuche fishe as they take the vjth or xth fiffhe of all straundgers that fishe there-

Fyvetly,

Fyvetly, to haue graunted vnto me and my parteners the pryviledge and onely traffique wth the lordes and people of Ireland for fuche Irish wares and Comodities as is nowe traded by the spanyardes and Irishmen onely.

Sixtly, to haue also a pryviledge for wo^rkinge of all myneralles and mettalles in Ireland paynge the queenes Ma^{ie} the xvth parte Free and compoundinge reasonab^{le} wth the awners of the landes there.

Seventhly, to be admyrall of those seas compoundinge reasonably wth the l. admyrall of England for the same.

Eightly, to haue one shippe of a hundred tonnes wth hir full furniture of mvnition and all other necessarye taklinge to be geven me by the queenes highnes

Nynethly to haue Comission graunted me from the Queenes Ma^{ie} and to my sufficient deputies for punishmentes of offenders servinge vnder me in fuche maner as vnto hir Ma^{ie} shall thoght fitte.

Tenthly to haue comission for levyinge of fiffhermen mariners and artificers and for takinge vpp and transportacion from England into Ireland of all kindes of graine butter chese and bacon wth other kindes of victuell for victuellinge of v^c men that shall serve vnder

Eleventhly to haue aucthoritie for apprehencion of Pirates of what nacion so euer they be and the benefites of fuche spoiles as shalbe found in them.

Twelvthly to haue graunt of all fuche land and Ilandes to be enhabited by my Company as shalbe wonne by them from the wylde Irishe and fuche licke rebbelles there to holde the same of the quenes Ma^{ie} and hir heires painge hir ij^d for an

acre

acre of all landes fo wonne and to enioye the Fee simple thereof.

The Reason and licklyhode that aswell fpanyardes & other Strangers as also the Irish them felves wilbe willinge to yeld and consent vnto the graunt and paiementes of the Customes aforesaid is to haue them felves to be defended from the violence aswell of the wylde Irish and sauadge people w^{ch} often cutt the cables on the hauke of Fiffhermen and Merchauntes there to the los of ther lyves and goodes by suffringe the shippes to run on the rockes for to haue spoile of them as also against the force of pirates by whom they are often spoyled bothe of life & goodes.¹⁸

[*Endorsed:—*] Notes confernynge Ierlande delyvered to S^r Jhon Perrott.

PETITION OF GENTLEMEN OF THE WEST PARTS TO THE
LORD HIGH ADMIRAL LINCOLN RESPECTING A VOYAGE
OF DISCOVERY.

March 22, 1574.

To the Righte Honorable the Lorde Hyghe Admirall of
England.

It maie please y^{or} good L. Certen gentlemen of the Weste
Contreie desyrous to adventure o^r felves and o^r goodes in
matter of service honorable and profytable to the Quenes
Ma^{tie} and the Realme, wythe lyke hope of benefytte to arryse
vnto fuche as shall be aduenturers therin, and havinge fondrie
waies good and probable causes to leade vs, bothe by o^r owen
vnderstandinge, and the helpe of fuche whoes skyll and expe-
rience we haue vsed, haue thought vppon and conceived a
meane

¹⁸ *Vide, Archiepiscopal Library, Lambeth, Carew Manuscripts, Vol. DCXIV.*
page 239.

meane by dyscouerie of certen newe trades of Navigation and trafylke to advance the Honor of o^r souereigne Ladie and Countrie, wth enlarginge the boundes of Chrystian religion, the benefyciall vtterance of the Commodityes of Englonde, the encrese, and maintenance of seamen, the relief of the people at home, and sondry other Commodityes suche as your wysedome can eselie se to ensue therof. And for that your Honor is her M^{aties} princypall officer for maryne affaires and to vs all well knowen to be moste honorablie affected to all good services, w^{ch} that waie may be atchiued, we humbly beseeche yow to enter into vnderstandinge therof, by perusinge suche matter as we haue in the artycles followinge exprest, and further at your Commandement shall attende vppon your Lo. to make yow more ample declaracion of the probabilitye therof, the meanes that we haue to atteyne hit, the Commodityes to growe by hyt, the easie resoluinge of suche difficulties as maie be obiected, wythoute Iniurie to any Prince or Contrey, or any iuste offense of amytie, and lastelie howe the whole shalbe performed, wytheoute her M^{aties} chardge or adventure, or any other her Highnes trouble, more then her gracious allowance of o^r good meaninge and dyrection of o^r proceedinges. So as we truste y^{or} Lordship shall see good cause to be pleased vppon your full vnderstandinge of o^r purpose, to take the same into your Protection, and as the chief of the enterpryse and to whoes honorable place hit moste aptlie perteyneth, to moue and commend the same to her M^{atie}, wherof we doubt not that grete honor shall redounde to your self and your posteritie. Whome almighty god longe preferue.¹⁹

¹⁹ *Vide, State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol. XCV. No. 64.*

SPECIFICATION IN DETAIL OF THE ADVANTAGES TO BE GAINED
BY PROPOSED VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY.

March 22, 1574.

1. The matter hitself is offred to be attempted

That it is feifible

What meanes we haue commodiously to atchiue it.

The commodities to growe of hit.

An awnswere of fuche difficulties & matters as may be
objected.That there is no Injurie offred to any Prince or Contrey
or any offence of amitieThe offre for performance therof wthoute her M^{ties} chardge
or adventure.Matters thought vppon to be praied for her M^{ties} good allow-
ance of the enterprife & direction of the procedinges, alwaie
both referringe the particularities therof to farder confydera-
cion & to y^{or} L^{ps} advifè & Judgement.

The matter it felf that is offred to be attempted.

The discoverie of trafike and enioyenge for the Quenes
M^{tie} and her fubiectes all or any landes Iflandes and Con-
tries fouthewarde beyonde the æquinoctial or where the Pole
Antartik, hath anie elevation aboue the Horizone, & w^{ch}
landes Iflandes and Contries be not abredie poffeffed or
fubdued by or to the vfe of any Cristian Prince in Europe as
by the chartes and Descriptions fhll apeare.

That

That hit is feifible.

The seas and passages as farre as Bresyle, Magelane streights and the Portugals navigation to the Moluccas w^{ch} all do lie beyonde the zona torrida beinge so ofte and dailie passed by those nations and knowen to o^r owen Marriners do shew hit possible, and the more for that the landes w^{ch} we seke lienge not onelie beyonde the sayde zone the Course of the Portugals sailinge and approchinge more to the Pole from the æquinoctial, draweth still more to the temperature of Englonde and the knowen regions of Europe.

The meanes we haue to atchiue hit.

Shippes of o^r owen well prepared.

The weste Contrie, beinge the apteste of all partes of Englonde for navigation southwarde.

Marryners and sailers to whome the passage almost thither is knowen.

The good and welcome commodyties that from england shalbe caried to that people who lienge in the temperature of Englonde and other partes of Europe cannot but lyke well of the vse of clothe wherin we moste habonde and the transportation whereof is most necessarie for o^r people at home.

The commodities to growe of hit.

The enlarginge of Christian faythe w^{ch} those naked barbarous people are most apte to receiue, and specyallie when yt shall not carrie wth hit the vnnaturall and incredible absurdities of Papistrie-

The grete honor to her M^{atie} to haue encreased the faythe and her dominion.

The

The aptnesse and as hit were a fatall Convenience that since the Portugale hathe attained one parte of the newfound worlde to the Este: the Spaniardes an other to the weste, the frenche the thirde to the northe; nowe the fourthe to the southe is by gods providence lefte for Englonde, to whome the others in tymes paste haue fyrste ben offred.

The encrease of naviagation of Englonde of w^{ch} Commoditye bothe for welthe and saffetie enoughe cannot be faide-

The lyklihode of bringinge in grete treasure of golde sylver and pearle into this relme from those Contries as other Princes haue oute of the lyke regions.

The enrichinge of the relme wth all other sortes of Commodities that the same landes do beare w^{ch} are lyke to be infinite and had wythe small price, & for the onelie fetchinge: and accordinge to the dyversytie of Clymes yt is moste lyklye that the manifolde diuersytie of Commodities wilbe fownde & muste nedes habounde for that by trafike and exportance they haue not hitherto ben wasted.

The settinge of o^r owen Idle people to worke and providinge for them bothe wth the travaile of the navigation and the worke of Clothes and thinges to be carried thither.

The avoydinge of discommodities and perilles that we be now subiecte vnto when the welthe and worke of o^r lande & people dependeth partlie vpon the will of o^r skante trustie neighbours for ventinge of o^r Clothes and Commodityes-

The abatinge of prices of Spices and suche Commodities that we nowe haue at the Portugales and Spaniardes handes wherby they encrease their riches vppon o^r losse when muche Spices and suche lyke here spent and boughte deare of
 them

them do wth the lesse quantitie consume the vallew of o^r clothes that they receiue-

The encrese of the quantitie of golde and sylver that shalbe brought owte of Spaine it self into Englonde when the Commodities comming out of Spaine, by comminge this waie cheper, and so lesse countervaylinge the valewe of o^r clothes caried thither, the ouerplus shall come more plentifully hither in treasure.

That we shall receaue the lesse of Spices and fuche lyke Commodities from Spaine, havinge them from elsewhere, and so the more of the retorne of o^r Commodities from thence in gold and sylver w^{ch} nedes muste be a grete Commodity when at this daie reservinge muche of o^r spices and southerne wares from Spaine and at dere prices yet the sylver broght from thence is faide to be the chief furniture of her Maties Mynte.

Awnswer to the difficulties.

The passinge of the hole lyne and zona torrida. This hathe ben passed fixe tymes by Magellanus. The zona torrida is yerelie in everie voyage of the Portugales to the Molluccas passed iiij tymes, and in everie voyadge to Brasyle yt is passed twice: sondrie of o^r owen nation and some fuche as are to goe in those voyadges haue passed hit.

The Portugales whole navigation to the Moluccas besydes his iiij tymes in everie voyadge passinge vnder the Œquinoctial lyethe whollie nere the same lyne.

The Contries that we seke so lie that o^r course contynueth not nere the lyne but crosseing the same styll hastethe directlie to the temperature of o^r owen regions.

The perilles of the Spaniardes and Portugales violence that shall envie anie passadge. Our strengthe shalbe suche as we feare yt not, besydes that, we meane to kepe the Ocean and not to enter in or nere anie their portes or places kepte wth their force.

The dispeoplinge of Englonde. It is no dispeoplinge: the people habounde as apperethe by the number greter then can be provided for, and the dalie losse by execution of lawe and no evill pollicye to disbourden the lande of some excesse.

The wastinge of marriners & furnytur of shippinge. It is the encrese of mariners, and the skylfull sorte: and the provision of shippinge: as by the ensample of Spaine Portugall and the Frenche is sene, who haue by meanes of their trafyke to the Indias and the Newfoundland a grete number of grete ships more then ere that tyme they had, or coulde set aworke.

The absence of mariners and shippinge in farre voyadges when we maie nede them at home. This reson is generall against all navigation to forrein partes w^{ch} yet is the trewe defence of the realme.

And in all these reasons is to be noted that none are to passe wthoute her M^{aties} permission and as to her Highnes & her Counsell from tyme to tyme shall appeare mete to be spared.

That there is no Injurie &c.

The Frenche haue their portion to the northe, & directlie contrarie to that whiche we feke.

In the places alredie subdued and inhabited by the Spaniardes

iardes or Portugales we feke no poffeffion nor Interest, but (yf occasion be) free and frendlie trafyke wth them and their Subiectes w^{ch} is as lawfull and asmu^{che} wthowte Iniurie as for the Quenes subiectes too trafyke as merchantes in Portugale and in Spaine hit self.

The passadge by the same seas that they doe, offeringe to take nothing from them that thei haue or clayme to haue, is not prohibyted nor can be wthout Inu^{ir}ie or offense of Amytie on their parte that shall forbydde hit.

The voyadges to Guynea and the traffiking in the Golphe of Mexico and the verie places of the Spaniardes poffession, hathe in the Presydente of Hawkins voyadge ben defended by her Matie and Counsell as frendlie and lawfull doenge, mu^{che} more this w^{ch} is but passinge in the open sea by them to places that they nether holde nor knowe.

Besyd that not onelie traffique, but also poffessyon, plantinge of people and habytacion, hathe ben alredie indyed lawfull for other nations in suche places as the Spaniardes or Portugales haue not alredie added to their poffession. As is proved by her Maties most honorable and lawfull graunte to Thomas Stuclee and his companie for Torraflorida. Also the frenche mens inhabytinge in Florida and Bresyle: who albeyt they acnowledge the Popes authoritie in suche thynges as they graunte to perteyne to him, yet in this vniuerfall and naturall right of trafyque and temporall domynion they haue not holden them bound by his power. But do expound his donacion to the Spaniardes and Portugales, eyther as a matter not perteyninge to the Popes auctoritie, or at leste not byndinge anie other persons Princes or nations but the Spaniardes and Portugales only, whoe only submytted themselves

elves and were parties to the Popes iudgement, in that behalf.

The offre for performance &c.

The Gentlemen that offre this enterprife shall at the chardge and adventure of themselves and fuche as shall wyllinglie ioyn themselves to their Companie performe the whole voyadge at their chardges only, and toward the same shall set forward fowre good shippes wherein they will employe fyue thousand poundes: vid 2000^{li} in shippinge, furnytur and ordinance; 2000 in victuals and necessaries for the Company and 1000^{li} in clothes and merchandize fytt for the people: wherwth we trust it will be atchived and afterwarde as god shall prosper and send occasion they will at their proper costes pursue the same.

Matters thought vpon to be praied &c.

That her Matie wilbe plesed, to give her lres. Patentess to the Authors and fellowship of this voyadge in maner of a Corporacion.

That hit will please her Matie in the same lres. Patentess to giue wordes of her good allowance and lykinge of their good meaninge: and to adde fuche Franchize and privedge as in this Case is requyfte and in the lyke hathe ben graunted.

That hit will please her Matie by the same lres. Patentess to stablishe some forme of gouernance & authoritie in some persons of the Companie of this adventure: So as by some regiment, Obedience quiet vnytie and ordre may be preserved.

That hit maie please her Matie to giue also her Highnes speciall lres. bothe of testimoniall that these adventures be her
Highnes

Highenes subiectes enterprisinge this voyadge wth her favor, and also her lres. of Commendacions to all Princes and peoples for their loving and favorable enterteynemente & trafyke.

That some speciall rules and orders fuche as the Companie shall thynck mete to be kepte emongst them, maie be confirmed by her M^{aties} authoritie: and further suppley of lyke ordinances to be made from tyme to tyme by the gouerners: by her Highnes to be appointed for the direction of the voyadge, for the agreement and obedience of the parties, for the Contribution and chardge, for the equalitie of partition. And specialle orders to be appointed by her M^{atie} for the stablishinge of her M^{aties} dominion & amytie in fuche places as they shall arrive vnto: where the same shalbe to be donne & for the rate and trew answeringe of her M^{aties} portion.

Theise thinges brieflie at the fyrste we haue thoght mete to exhibyte to y^{or} Honor, who are hable therof to iudge muche better then we are hable to shewe. Howbeyt if y^{or} L. shall not be satisfied in any thinge conferringe this matter yt maye please yow to signifye the same, that we maie attende vppon yow wth fuche resolucion as we can giue therin.²⁰

[*Endorfed*:—] 2. 834. To my L. admyrall for the Sowth Voiage of the western gent.

“A DISCOURSE HOW HIR MAJESTIE MAY ANNOY THE KING OF SPAYNE.”

November 6, 1577.

I am bowld (most excellent Soueraigne) to exercise my pen touching matters of state, because I am a fyllie member of this

²⁰ *Vide, State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, as above, Vol. XCV. No. 64.*

this Common weale of England, and doe not offer my self therein as an Instruſter, or a reformer, but as a Welwiller to yo^r Ma^{tie} and my Contrie, wherein the meanest or simplest ought not to yeeld them selves second to the best, or wisest. In w^{ch} respect I hope to be pardoned, if through want of iudgement I be mistaken herein. And so to the matter.

The safety of Principates, Monarchies, and Comon weales, rest chiefly on making their enemies weake, and poore, And themselves strong and rich, Both w^{ch} god hath specially wrought for yo^r Ma^{tes} safety, if yo^r highnes shall not overpas good opportunities for the same, when they are offered. For yo^r neighbors infelicities through civill warres, hath weakened and impoverished them both by sea, and land, And hath strengthened yo^r Ma^{tes} Realme, both by thone, and thother, w^{ch} thinge is so manifest, that it weare more then in vayne, to go aboute to prove the same, And for that this yo^r Ma^{tes} Realme of England requireth other considerations then those w^{ch} are of the continent, I will omitt them, and spyn a threed propper for o^r English loomes.

First yo^r highnes owght vndoubtedly to seeke the Kingdome of heaven, and vppon that fowndacion to beleve that there can never be constant, and firme league of amytie betwene those princes, whose devision is planted by the woorme of their consciences. So that their legues and fayre wordes, ought to be held but as Mermaydes songes, sweete poysons, or macquesites, that abuse wth outward plawfabilitye, and gay shoves. For in troth as in such leagues there is no assurance: so christian princes ought not for any respect to combyne themselves in amytie wth such as are at open and professed warres wth god himself. For non est consilium omnino

omnino contra Deum. So that no state or common weale can florish, where the first and principall care is not for goddes glorie, and for thadvancing of the pollities of his spirituall kingdome, w^{ch} don, yo^r Ma^{tie} is to thinck that it is more then tyme to pare their nayles by the stumpes, that are most readie prest to pluck the crowne (as it were in despite of god) from yo^r highnes head, not only by foraine force: but also by stirring vp of home factions. And therefore the best waie is first to purge, or at least wise to redresse yo^r owne kingdome of their suspected adherentes. I meane not by banishment, or by fire, and sworde, but by dimynishing their habilities by purse, creditt and force, Then to foresee by all dilligente meanes, that yo^r suspected neighbors may not haue opportunity to recover breath whereby to repayre their decayed losses; w^{ch} for yo^r safetie is principally to be don, by the farther weakning of their navies, and by preserving and increasng of yo^r owne.

And the deminishing of their forces by sea is to be done eyther by open hostilytie, or by some colorable meanes; as by geving of lycence vnder lres. patentes to discover and inhabyte some straung place, wth speciall proviso for their safetyes, whome pollify requyreth to haue most annoyed by w^{ch} meanes the doing of the contrarie shalbe imputed to thexecutors fawlt; yo^r highnes lres. patentes being a manyfest shewe that it was not yo^r Ma^{tes} pleasure so to haue it. After the publick notyfe of w^{ch} fact, yo^r Ma^{tie} is either to avowe the same (if by the event therof it shall so seme good) or to disavowe both them and the fact, as league breakers; leaving them to pretend yt as done wthout yo^r pryvitie, either in the service of the prince of Orange or otherwise.

This

This cloake being had for the raigne, the way to worke the feate is to sett forth vnder fuch like colour of discoverie, certayne shippes of warr to the N. L. wth yo^r good licence I will vndertake w^{thout} yo^r Ma^{tes} charge; in w^{ch} place they shall certainly once in the yeere meete in effect all the great shipping of Fraunce, Spayne, and Portyngall, where I would haue take and bring away wth their frayghtes and ladinges, the best of those shippes and to burne the woorst, and those that they take to carrie into Holland, or Zeland, or as pirattes to shrowd them selves for a small time vppon yo^r Ma^{tes} coastes, vnder the frendship of some certaine viceadmirall of this Realme; who may be afterwarde committed to prison, as in displeasure for the same, against whose returnes, six monethes provision of bread, and fower of drinck to be layd in some apt place: together wth munition to serue for the number of five or sixe thousand men, w^{ch} men wth certaine other shippes of warr being in a readynes, shall pretend to inhabit S^te Lawrence Iland, the late discovered Contries in the North, or elswhere; and not to ioyne wth the others; but in some certaine remote place at sea.

The setting forth of shipping for this service will amounte to no great matter, and the retourne shall certainly be wth greate gayne, For the N. F. is a principall and rich and euerie where vendible merchaundise: and by the gayne thereof, shipping, victuall, munition, and the transporting of five or six thousand soldiors may be defrayed.

It may be said that a fewe shippes cannot possiblie distres so many: and that although by this service yow take or destroy all the shipping you find of theirs in those places: yet are they but subiectes shippes, their owne particule
navies

navies being nothing leffoned therby; and therefore their forces shall not so much be dimynished, as yt is supposed whereunto I answered.

There is no doubt to performe it wthout daunger. For although they be many in number, and great of burthen, yet are they furnished wth men, and munition but like fishers, and when they come vpon the coastes, they do alwaies disperse them selves into sundry portes, and do disbarke the most of their people into small boates for the taking and drying of their fish, leaving fewe or none above their shippes; so that there is as little doubt of the easie taking, and carying of them away; as of the decaying hereby of those princes forces by sea. For their owne proper shippings are very fewe, and of small forces in respect of the others, and their subiectes shipping being once destroyed yt is likely that they will never be repaired, partly through the decaye of the owners, and partly through the losses of the trades whereby they maynteyned the same. For euerie man that is hable to build shippes doth not dispose his wealth that waye, so that their shippinge being once spoyled, it is likely that they will never be recouered to the like number and strength but if they should, yt will requier a long time to season timbe^r for that purpose, all w^{ch} space we shall haue good opportunity to proceed in our farther enterprises. And all the meane tyme the foresaid princes shall not only be disapointed of their forces as aforesaid, but also loose great revenues, w^{ch} by traffick they formerly gayned: and shall therewth all endure greate famine for want of such necessarie victualles &c. as they former enjoyed by those voyages.

It may also be objected that although this may be done in

act, yet is it not allowable, being against yo^r Ma^{tes} league: for although by the reach of reason mens Ies may be obscured, yet vnto god nothing is hidden, w^{ch} I answere thus.

I hold it is lawfull in christen pollicie, to prevent a mischife betimes: as to reveng it to late, especiallie feing that god him selfe is a party in the common quarrelles now a foote, and his ennemy malitiouse disposition towards yo^r highnes, and his Church manifestlie seen, although by godes mercifull providence not yet throughlie felt.

Further it may be saide that if this should be done by Englishmen vnder what colour soever they should throwd themselves, yet will that cut vs of from all trafficke wth those that shalbe annoyed by such meanes; and thereby vtterlie vndoe the state of merchaundise, decaye the mayntenaunce of the shipping of this Realme, and also greatly diminishe yo^r Ma^{tes} customes to w^{ch} I replie thus.

To prevent theise daungers (that although yo^r highnes may at the first distres both the French, Spanyshe, and Portiugall yet there needeth none to be touched but the Spaniardes, and Portingall; or the Spaniardes alone, by the want of whose traffick there is no necessity of such decaye and losses as partly appeared by the late restraite betwene yo^r Ma^{ty} and them. And the forces of the Spaniardes, and Portiugalls, being there so much decayed as aforesaid; the French of necessitie shalbe brought vnder your highnes by, affuring yo^r Ma^{ty} the case being as it is, it were better a thousand folde thus to gayne the start of them, rather then yerely to submitt o^r selves subiect to haue all the marchauntes shippes of this Realme stayed in their handes: wherby they shalbe armed at our costes, to beate vs wth roddes of our
owne

owne making, and our selves thereby spoyled both of our wealth and strength.

And touching the contynuance of traffick wherewth to increafe and maintaine our shipping, and yo^r Ma^{tes} revenues, and also to provide that the prices of sotherne wares shall not be inhaunced to the detriment of the Comon weale: there may be good meanes found for the preventing thereof, as hereafter followeth.

It is true, if we shold indure the losse of those trades, and not recover those commodities by some other meanes: that then yo^r Ma^{ty} might be bothe hindred in shippinge, and customes, to the great decaie of the comon weale. But if yo^r highnes will permit me, wth my associates, eyther overtly or covertly to perfourme the forsaide enterprise: then wth the gayne thereof there may be easely such a competent companie transported to the W. I, as may be hable not only to disposses the S. therof, but also to possesse for ever yo^r Ma^{tie}, and Realme therewth, and thereby not only to countervaille, but by farr to surmount wth gaine, the aforesaid supposed losses; besides the gowld and sylver Mynes, the profit of the soyle, and the inward and outward customes from thence. By w^{ch} meanes yo^r highnes doubtfull frendes, or rather apparaunte enemies, shall not only be made weake, and poore, but therewth yo^r selfe, and Realme, made strong and rich, both by sea, and lande, aswell there, as here. And where both is wrought vnder one, it bringeth a most happy conclusion. So that if this may be well brought to passe (whereof there is no doubt) then haue we hitt the mark we shott at, and wonn the goale of our securesities to the immortall fame of yo^r ma^{tie}. For when yo^r enemyes shall not haue shipping,
nor

nor meanes left them wherby to maintayne shipping, to annoyne yo^r Ma^{tie} nor yo^r subiectes be any longer enforced for want of other trades to submitt them selues to the daunger of theire arrestes, then of force this Realme being an Iland shalbe discharged from all forraine perills, if all the Monarchies of the world should ioyne against vs, so long as Ireland shalbe in safe keeping, the league of Scotland maintayned, and farther amitie concluded wth the prince of Orange, and the King of Denmark. By w^{ch} meanes also yo^r ma^{tie} shall ingrasse and glewe to yo^r crowne, in effect all the Northerne, and Southerne viages of the world, so that none shalbe then well hable to crosse the seas, but subiect to yo^r highnes devotion: considering the great increase of shipping that will growe, and be maynetayned by those long vyages, extending them selves so many fundrie wayes. And if I may perceave that yo^r highnes shall like of this enterpryse, then will I most willinglie expresse my simple opinion, w^{ch} waye the W. I. maye wthout difficultie be more surpris'd, and defended, wthout w^{ch} resolution, it were but labour lost. But if yo^r Ma^{ty} like to do it at all, then would I wish yo^r highnes to consider that delay doth often tymes prevent the perfourmaunce of good thinges: for the winges of man's life are plumed wth the feathers of death. And so submitting my self to yo^r Ma^{tes} favourable iudgement I cease to trouble yo^r highnes any further. Nouembris: 6. 1577.

Yo^r Ma^{tes} most faithful
seruant and subiect²¹

[This has been signed, but the signature has been obliterated with a pen. It is, however, conjectured to be H. Gylberte.]

HUMFREY

²¹ *Idem*, *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, Vol. CXVIII. No. 12.

HUMFREY GYLBERTE TO WALSYNGHAM. COMPLAINS OF
MR. KNOLES.

1578. Nov. 12

S^r as in all my occasions heretofore I have ever founde you my most honorable freinde, so in my gretest extremities I meane such as by false suggestions maye hazard my creditt, I will never dispaier to fynd lesse favo^r, duringe the longe contrarietie of the wyndes by what perswasions ledd god knoweth M^r Knoles hath forfaken my Companie in my pretended iorney and vnto hyme drawen as many as either the longe tyme of staie by contrarie wyndes have tyred or his affeccion allured, w^{ch} is noe otherwise then from the begynninge I douted for noe curtesie or patience of my parte could possiblie cause M^r Knoles to thinke me either mete to direct or advise hym and yet to abide the hardiest construccions that maye be, I never offred such cause as might either be a discreditt vnto him to susteyne, or any occasion to breke of so honest an enterprice, but once before this tyme he in like refused the iorney, wherin by meanes of S^r John Gilbert my brother he was once agayne reconciled and the brech by me omitted and forgotten. But still to be trobled wth euery smale surmised occasion I counte it a greter disturbaunce to me then my pretended iorney I hope shalbe. For wthout eny occasion ministred he often and openly perswaded my company and gentlemen to my disgrace howe much he embased and subiected himself to serve vnder me Consideringe his estimacion and creditt, accomptinge him self as he often and openlie saied equall in degree to the best knightes and better then the most in Englande, Farther he in my owne heringe
not

not onely vsed me so disdaynfullie both in spech and countenance as my rashe and folish Condicion hath seldome bynne sene accustomed to endure, but also taken partes and boldened such of my companie: as I throughe theire brech of pece and bloodshed wth other intollerable disorders have admonished or found fault wthall w^{ch} I held my duetye both as a Justice and governer by comission ouer my companie, Farther in open presence of gentlemen of all sortes to my grete disgrace when I entretid him vnto my table he answered me that he had money to paie for his dynner as well as I, and that he would leue my trencher for those beggers that were not able to paie for there meles, w^{ch} semed a bare thanks for my good will, besides in my absence he thretened to hange a captayne and gentleman of my company called Morgan in lyvinge litle or nothings inferiour to hym self, And one that was not longe before shripe of the Shiere wherein he dwelt. Farther my Lord of Bedforde comaunded M^r Heile a Justice of the pece to require M^r Knoles in his behalf and all the rest of the Justices in the Quenes Maties name to delyuer two of his company w^{ch} ymbrued theire handes in the blood of a gentleman called John Leonard that was of late wilfullie murdered in Plymouth, w^{ch} M^r Knoles vtterlie refused to doe, the maio^r of the towne S^r John Gilbert and my self requiringe hym in like manner, Besids this his men had almost killed a constable, but they would not be delyuered to ponishment, Farther M^r Knoles shippe toke Holbeame a notorious pyratt and did lett hym goe w^{ch} bred me grete flaunder of suspicion of pyracie, Besides he fell in outrageous termes of daringe of a Justice of peace w^{ch} thinges together wth his disdainfull vsage of me gave me iust cause to doute his tractablenes

tractablenes at see that carid so litle for Justice counsello^{rs} & Justices of the peace a shore. Wherevppon I told hym priuatlie by waye of counsell as my freind wthout quarell or wordes of offence, that he vsed me somewhat to disdaine-fullie consideringe the goodwill I bare hym and the place I held, and that if he vsed hym self in this forte and vphold such as offended by his countenance, it would not onely kyndle dislike betwene him and me, but also brede faction and sedicion. vppon this onely it plesed him to take hold, sayeng that I called him proude & sedicios, and so haynouflie racked it, that he left my company and consorte, But vnto willinge myndes there nedes no grete enforcements, beyng as it semes, by some of his company perswaded to runne a shorter course, w^{ch} I pray god, it maye turne to his aduancement and credit, for he hath store of notorious evill men about hym as Loveles & Callice wth others; Assuringe you that I am for strenght as well able to performe that w^{ch} I vndertoke as I desired havinge of my owne shipps seaven sayle well manned and victualled. So that my onely sute vnder yo^r honor is, that as you have bene allwayes the pillar vnto whome I lent, so I hope you will allwayes remayne in my iuste occasions such a one as I in goodwill and service desier to deserue if god of his mercye doe but geve me leve and hapely to returne, I then hope you shall fynd that I will at last performe somewhat of that w^{ch} I in thought and goodwill have wth my self longe promised, desiringe onelye in this matter for the satisfaccion of the truth, herof and of my behavio^r every waye that it maye plesse yo^r honor ether to send my lres. to the Maio^r and towne of Plymouth to retourne there knowledge of theis my behavio^r either els to write to
my

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my Lord of Bedford that by him you may be 'atisfied from them of the matter. And so to condemme me if I be found fautie, to my reproche wherin I desiere noe favour. And so I most humbly Committ yo^r honor to god. Plymouth this xijth of November 1578-

Yo^r honors most humble
to Commaunde

[*Signed*: —]

H. GYLBERTE.²²

[*Addressed*: —] To the Right honorable S^r Fraunces Walsingham knight principall Secretarie to her Ma^{tie}: theis be delivered-

[*Endorsed*: —] .12. Nouemb. 1578
From S^r H. Gylbert of M^r H: Knollys vnkynd & yll dealyng towards him & others the best of the Countie of Deuon:- whervpon their societie in the viage is broken of-

SIR HUMFREY GYLBERTE TO WALSYNGHAM
EXPLAINING KNOLES' CONDUCT.

Plymouth, Nov. 18 1578

S^r as in my former lres. (I advertised yo^r hono^r) by what straunge accident, M^r Knoles hathe left the service, he vnderstooke wth me, before her Ma^{tie} moved by such trifles or toyes as (vnder yo^r honors correction) were meter to breke amitie amongest children, rather than men. So bycause I doe weye; in equall ballance, wth lif, yo^r honors good opinion of me, I thoughte it good, to fende yo^r honor this certificat, vnder the Maio^{rs} hand of Plymouthe; and other of her Ma^{ties} fervauntes and captaynes, who were presente; when I publikely desired, M^r Knoles, to declare all the causes, that moved

²² *Vide, State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol. CXXVI. No. 84.*

moved hym to mislike. All w^{ch} he did, or could allege are particularly sett downe; in the said Certificat, Comittinge my self vppon the sight therof, to be iudged, as the thyng it self shall gyve cause; but truely I can gesse noe other, but that his pretence was to breke of, from the begynning, and ranne this course thereby to have cullour to arme to see. And then wthall, either to learne my enterpryce, & so to vnder-take the discouerye of hym self, as one moved there vnto, thoughte ambicion, and disdayne, either els to runne some shorter course, w^{ch} I wishe to prove mete for his callinge. I most humbly beseeche yo^r hono^r to ymparte this certificat to the Quenes Ma^{tie} my Lord of Leceister, & M^r Vicechamberlayne, wth such other as to yo^r hono^r shall seme good. But my principall care is, to satisfie you, above all others, bycause yo^r hono^r was thonly meanes of my lycence. And therefore as my patrone I studie principallie next vnto her Ma^{tie}, to mayntayne my self in yo^r good opinion, whome I my self will honor and serue duringe lif noe man more. And I trust god willinge to bringe althinge to good passe, theis Croffes and thwartes notwthstandinge. Moreover my cosen Deny doth accompany M^r Knoles in this his brech & retire from o^r con-forte. the cause of my cosin Denys departure was only for that I blamed hym for striken of a sayler wth his naked sworde, whoe had not his wepon drawen desfringe hym to leve quarellinge, for that it was a thinge verey vnmete for this iorney. And if he left it not I iudge hym not fitt for the voyage, wherevppon he verey outragiouflye and wth verey vnsemely termes abvsed me in not only challenginge me, but also in dispitfull manner defyenge me w^{ch} I thought to be hardly donne, consideringe I held the place of a Justice of

pece in the country. And thus yo^r hono^{rs} hath occasion also of this his speech, wherin if I have enformed yo^r hono^r otherwise then trothe, then iudge me a villayne and a knave. For better accompte I iudge noe man worthe that shalbe founde vniust in word and dede. And this I hold for my best tryall And so I most humbly committ yo^r hono^r to god wth my duetifull comendacion to my good Ladye. Plymouth this xvijth of November 1578.

Yo^r hono^{rs} humble most assured to Commaunde

[Signed: —]

H. GYLBERTE.

S^r I am fymptvly worthe the accomptynge of, but as I am, I am and ever wilbe yo^r hono^{rs} hvmbull and moste faythfull to commande, and longer then I shall shewe my selffe worthe (in respecte of not beynge gylte of villany) of yo^r favo^r, to be adiudged by the tochestone of every mans honeste I praye you leue and forsake me, as one not worthe of yo^r protection.²³

[*Addressed*: —] To the Right honorable S^r Fraunces Walsingham knight principall secretary to her Ma^{tie} theis delwer.

[*Endorsed*: —] 18. Nouemb. 1578. From S^r H. Gilbert with a certificatte of the cawses of M^r Henrie Knollys departure from him in this viage: wherw^t he defyrethe that hir Ma^{tie} & other of my U^{es} may be made acquaynted. The cawse also of his coufen Dennyes departure from him-

CERTIFICATE OF THE CAUSES WHY M^r KNOLES
DEPARTURE FROM SIR HUMFREY GYLBERTE.

Nov. 5, 1578. Plymouth.

A Certificat of the cawses of M^r Knoles forsakinge the Jorney, and consorte of S^r Humfry Gilbert knighte, alleged before

²³ *Vide, State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol. CXXVI. No. 46.*

before the Maio^r of the towne of Plymouth M^r John Hele Justice of pece, and dyuers other gentlemen, the fifthe of November 1578 viz

1. Imprimis the causes of discurtesie, that M^r Knoles could allege; why he would breke of the iorney, wth f^r Humfry Gilbert, and leve the voyage; were that f^r Humfry Gilberte saied he was factious, fedicious, and proude; To w^{ch} f^r Humfry Gibert gave answere, as followeth.

2. Item he saith, he never called hym factious, or, fedicious, but saied, that if he gave countenance to men of evill and disordered behavio^r, then he should nourrice faction and fedicion, w^{ch} woordes f^r Humfry Gilbert spake privatlie to hym, and not to defame hym, or by way of quarell, but M^r Knoles, wth that his publike deniall, would not be satisfied. Except f^r H. Gilbert would there openly fwere vppon a boke that he never spake it, w^{ch} f^r H. Gilbert refused, saienge othes oughte to be referued for Judges.

3. Item touchinge the accusinge hym of pride; f^r Humfry Gilbert denied not, but that M^r Knoles did esteeme hym self to much and hym to litle, alleginge that M^r Knoles had dyvers tymes spoken woordes to his disgrace and disdaine, as dispisinge his knighthoode, saienge he toke hym self to be a better man then xx knightes. And that he often tymes had refused that degree as a callinge he esteemed not of.

4. Item Moreouer M^r Knoles often openly reported that he had submitted & embased hym self, to serve vnder f^r Humfry Gilbert, takinge hym self to be farre better in estimacion, then eny of the company.

5. Item

5. Item Moreouer when S^r Humfry Gilbert bad M^r Knoles to dynner, he answered that he had monye to paie for his dynner, aswell as he, And that he would leue his trencher, for those that were not able to paie for their meales, w^{ch} thinge made S^r Humfry Gilbert iudge; that M^r Knoles esteemed of hym verie litle, consideringe the place he held, by her Ma^{ties} comission. All w^{ch} wordes M^r Knoles confessed he spake.

6. And yet notwithstandinge S^r Humfry Gilbert toke not it, as eny quarell, but femed lothe to leue his Company, but noe curtesie or patience of his parte coulde perswade or content hym.

[*Signed*:—] W^m HAWKYN W. RAULEY: MYLES MORGAN
JHON ROBERTES EDMOND ELTOFTE

M^d one the xijth of November M^r Wigmore who was only presente; when f^r Humfry Gilberte should call M^r Knoles factious and sedicious denied the heringe therof, but that f^r Humfry Gilbert faied to theeffect as afore by hym self is confessed and not otherwise then is in the second Article.

[*Signed*:—] MYLES MORGAN W. RAULEY: JHON ROBERTES
HENRIE NOELLES EDMOND ELTOFTE²⁴

[*Endorsed*:—] Certificatt from diueres men of the towne of Plimmouthe what the causes of M^r Henrie Knollys departure from S^r.H. Gilbert in his viage.

²⁴ *Vide, State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol. CXXVI. No. 46. 1.*

LIST OF SHIPS OFFICERS, ORDINANCE, ETC. OF GYLBERTE'S
EXPEDITION OF 1578.

Nov. 18. 19. 1578. Plymouth

The names of all the Shippes Officers and gent. wth the peces of ordynances in them And the number of all the Solgiars and mariners gonne in the viage wth f^r Humfrye Gilbert knight, generall in the same, for a dyfcouerye to be made by him, who Toke the Seas From Plymouthe wth vij Sayles the xixth day of November 1578.

An Ager admirall of the Flete in Burden ccl Tunes havinge Caste peces 24. fowlers 4. one Brasse pece. fir Humfry Gylbert generall Henrye Pedly m^r his mates. Richard Smythe. Botefwane. John Inglish m^r Battes deputye of his ship.

Richard Wigmore esquier

Thomas Hamonde gent.

Thomas Skevington gent.

Edward Ventris gent.

Jaques Harvy a frenche gent.

Thomas }
Olyuer } Wolton gent.

Willm. Heringe gent.

Thomas Renoldes gent.

Willm. Stonewell gent.

Edward Dethicke gent.

John Friar phisition

Surgeons ij.

Musitians vj

Trumpiter j

Drume j.

The whole number of
gent. solgiars and mari-
ners are cxxvj-

The

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The Hope of Greneway Vice Admirall of clx Tunnes, havinge in hir of Caste peces- xvij fowlers fower.

Carye Rawlye brother to f^r Humfrye Gilberte Capitayne

Jacobbe Whidon m^r his mate John Perdew

Willm. Horfelye m^r Goner

Henrye Noell esquier. an Ancient by lande

Robt. Wray gent.

Iame Tulford gent.

Iames Hildon gent.

George Whetstone gent.

Anthonye Hamerton gent.

Henrye Barker gent.

Androw Piper gent.

Surgeon j Trumpiter j-

The whole number of gent.
folgiars and marinars are 80.

The Falcon w^{ch} was the Quenes ship of c Tunes havinge in hir of Caste peces — 15. fowlers. 4. doble bafes 12.

Capitayne Walter Rawlye brother to f^r Humfrye Gilberte a capitayne of an Ancient by lande.

Fardinande the Portugale his m^r

Edward Eltope esquier

Charles Champernewme gent.

Iohn Robertes gent.

Iohn Flere gent.

Thomas Holborne gent.

Iohn Antell gent.

Willm. Hugford gent.

The whole number of
gent. foligars and
mariners are 70-

The Red Lyon of a cx Tunnes havinge caste peces xij
Doble baafes vj.

Myles

Myles Morgayne of Tredgar in the Countye of Mulmot
efquier Capitayne

Iohn Anthony. his m^r his mates Rife Sparowe. black
Robin

Edward Marvayle bootefwane.

Drew Tonne m^r Goner

George Harbart gent.

Edmond Mathew gent.

Charles Bucly gent.

Rife Lewes gent.

Iohn Martin gent.

Thomas Nycholas gent.

Iohn Amerideth gent.

Lewes Jones gent.

} The whole number of
gentlemen folgiars and
mariners are liij-

The Gallion of 40 Tunnes havinge of Caste peces vj vid.
fower fawlconetes one mynien, one falcon.

Richard Vdall Capitayne

Cowrte Heykenborow m^r his mate Richard Nycols

Thomas Fowler m^r Goner

Beniamin Butler gent.

Francis Rogers gent.

George Worfelye gent.

Arthure Messinger gent

} The whole number of gent.
folgiars and mariners
are xxviij-

The Swallow of 40 Tunnes } The whole number in hir of
Capitayne John Vernye gent. } folgiars and mariners xxiiij-

The lytell Frigat or Squerrill of viij Tunes } The whole
number of Solgiars and mariners are viij-

The

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The whole number of gent. folgiars }
and mariners in this Fleete are } ccclxv.

The sayd ships were vitaled at thear departure wth Beff
for thre monethes-

Item wth Fyshe and Byfcate for a yeare at iij byfcates a
day for a man.

Wth pease and Benes for a yeare

Befydes particuler provisions.

M^d that f^r Humfri his ships came to Darkemothe August 25.

Dyvers provisions for aparell stollen away by a pynisse
Sept. 8.

M^r Knollis came to Dartemouth the xth of September

Item he departe to Plymouth the 22 of September

Item the 26 of September the sayd navy departed out of
Dartemoth & wear dysperfed by contrary wyndes, some to
the yle of Wyte some other wayes.

Item the sayd ships arived at Plymouth. the 15 of Oötober

Item the 29 of oötober inbarked agayne from thence, &
by tempest inforced to take harborowe, whear they remayned
vntill the 19 of November.

The names of the ships officers and gentlemen as
accompanied m^r Henrye Knollis in his viage be-
gonne the xvijth of November, 1578.

The Eliphante Admirall beinge in Burden cl Tunes:
havinge of Cast Brasse peces xij, of Castte Iorne peces 12,
fowlers vj-

Henry Knollis esquier Capitayne.

Francis

Francis Knollis gent his brother, leftenant.

Olde Morfe his m^r his mate Thomas Grene.

John Callis Pilot

Willm. More m^r Goner

John More Botefwane

Fardynando Feldinge gent.

Henry Smythe gent-

Simond Digby gent-

Everad Digby gent-

Walter Spanlow gent-

The whole number of gent
folgiars and mariners, c.

Well vited for a whole
yeare.

Barke Denye vice admirall called the same a Frigat in
leangth by the kele lxxij foote having Castte peces 9 fowl-
ers ij-

Edward Denye esquier Capitayne

John Granger m^r his mates Edward Cales and Blacborne.

M^r Goner Steuen Houlingby

George Hopton gent.

Ieremye Turner gent.

The whole number of gent.
folgiars and mariners are
xxx.

The Frenche Barke called the Francis of 70 Tunnes hav-
inge of Caste peces 4. of doble dogges 6- portugale Bases of
Brafte 2.

Gregory Fenton Capitayne

The whole number is xxxj.

The whole number of gent. folgiars } clx.
and maryners in this Flete }

Captayne Sharpam and Mr Foscue are also nere in a Redynes wth v ships vittaled for a yeare for ccl persons bounde in a lyke viage-²⁵

[*Endorsed:—*] 18.

A note of the ships and persons gone with S^r. Humfrey Gylbert

COMMISSION TO SIR HUMFREY GYLBERTE.

DUBLIN CASTLE, July 24, 1579

By the L. Justice & Counsell.

[Signed :] W. DRURY.

Wheare yt certaynlie knowen that the Archerebell James fitz Morrice is latly landed in the remote partes of the west of this Realme, wth a poower of straungers, w^{ch} ceasse not wth their Tyrannye, to burne and spoile wheare their forces can prevayle to the greate domadge of her highnes subiectes, and the enquieting of this state, and common weale. We therfore for the better daunting of the fayd trayto^r and his accomplices & adherentes in theis attemptes; having especiall confidence of yo^r activitie circumspeccion and good pollycie do by teno^r hereof in her highnes name and behalf, au^thorise yow o^r loving Freende S^r Humfrey Gilbert knight, to take vpp and seize for thes parties, shippes, Barques and vessels, apte for warr, and such masters, pylottes & numbers of men, and maryners wthin liberties or wthowte fitt for the foresaid purpose, as wth thadvise and consent first by yo^r had herein, of o^r loving freendes the Justice Walshe, the Justice meaghe, Henry Davels Esquier, and Arthur Carter provost marshall in mounster or any towe of them if convenyentlye
in

²⁵ *Vide, State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol. CXXVI. No. 49.*

in tyme yo^w can not have theym all together, shalbe thought requysite and expedient vnder their handwryting to be testified for the nomber of the men & tyme of their contynuaunce in enterteynement. And do geve vnto yo^w, full power and aucthoritie lykewyse, to purvoy, provyde and take vppe for this her ma^{tes} service, aswell wthin liberties as wthout by yo^r self or yo^r sufficient ministers, such quantities of victels vsuall at Seea as shall be mete, necessarie & sufficient for yo^w and yo^r companies during this service payeng redy money or agreeng for the same, according her ma^{tes} Seea rates and prices accustomed. And alsoe lyke aucthoritie, to pursue, ponnysshe, correct and plagwe the said James, and his accomplices, adherentes sawto^{rs} relyevors and maynteno^rs by land or Seea, to the best of yo^r power by all weys and meanes in warr vsuall. And to commaunde, rule direct and governe, aswell eny her ma^{tes} shipp or shippes lighting in yo^r companie as also of every other the shippes, or Barques, and their companyes in eny haven or harbo^r in the partes of mounster remayning, or w^{ch} yo^w may fortune to espye on the Sees, and by yo^w thought Fitt for the servys to be taken and emplyd by yo^r direction, in the pursfewte, chasing, and plagwing at Seea, of the said rebelliowse navye and their forces, willing and in her highnes name hereby streightlie chardginge & commaunding all and singuler Mayo^{rs} Sherriffes, Bailiffe constables hedboroughs and all other what soever her ma^{tes} officers mynisters and loving subiectes on land aswell wthin lyberties as wthout, and lykwyse all Captens, owners of shippes or Barques masters & maryners at Seea, what soever to whome, in this cause yt shall or may in any wyfe appertyne, that vppon sight hereof, they and every of them, be not only
assistant

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assistant ayding, helping, and obedient vnto yo^w the said S^r Humfrey in this yo^r au^thorythment but also in every other action conteyned in such Instruccions, as for yo^r furd^r direction yo^w shall also receive from vs herevnto annexed as they and everie of theym tender the speciall advaunfement of this her highenes so vrgent service, and for their defalt & contrary doyeng will be aunfwerable at their vttermost & extreme perills. And therefore requyre and chardge yo^w in her highnes name diligently carefully and circumspectly, to intend this chardge and service and faythfully to execut the same, as o^r full trust is repofed in yo^r industry and fidelitie in this behalf. Geven at her ma^{ties} Castell of Dublin, the xxiiijth of Julye 1579.

Ad. Dublin

[Signed: —] WM. JERRARDE
canc.

NICHL. MALBIE
LUCAS DILLON.²⁶

[*Addressed:* —] To o^r veary loving Freend S^r Humfrey Gilbert Knight.

[*Endorsed:* —] refe^d the 6. of Auguste 1579
S^r Willms Drewryes lre. of warrant au^thorefinge S^r Homfrey Gilbert Amirall as by his lres. and instructions herinclofed maye appere dated the. 24. of July. 1579.

SIR IOHN GILBERTE TO WALSINGHAM THANKING HIM
FOR FAVORS.

November 21, 1578

Allthowght my boldenes be more theane yett owght too be In presumynge too wrytte too yowre ho. beynge a mane vnto yowe vnknoen yett I hope apone yowre fauor for thatt

²⁶ *Vide, State Papers, Ireland, Elizabeth, Vol. LXVII. No. 47.*

I doo by theafe fewe lynes prefeante my fealfe as one altogether redy to farue yow wth my pore abylyty as by yowre greatte and faorable cortafys to my pore brother fyr humfry gylberte dyuerfe and fundry tymes shoed I am bownde and fyr contynuyng yn my boldenes do moſte humbly befeache yowe too accepte me into yowre fauor as one of thatt howfe thatt yo dedycatyed too yowre faruys as I knowe my good vnkell fyr arthur champernowne by yowre honorable cortafys had greatte cawfe wth my brother and otherfe and my truſte ys thatt yowre ho wyll accepte me a pore contery mane amongeſte thatt company whom wth all goodwyll duryng lyfe yowe ſhall fynde redy att yowre commandemeante- my brother has enboldenyd me too preſume to wryte vnto yowre ho. who has affuryd me off yowre fauor and thatt he has made me knoen vnto yowe by ſpeches althowght nott by perſone, and leaueng the trobolyng off yowre ho moſte humble I take my leaue from Greanewaye the .21. off nouember.

yowre honorſe redy att commandemeante

JOHN GILBERTE.²⁷

[*Adreſſed*: —] To the ryght honorable fyr franſys Walfyngame Knyght chefe ſecretary too her mageſty.

[*Endorſed*: —] .21. Nouemb. 1578. From ſ: John Gilbert the great fauo^{rs} I haue ſhewed his brother S: Humfrey, & his vnclē S: Arthure Champernowne emboldnethe him to recommend to me his good will & ſeruice.

²⁷ *Vide, State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol. CXXVI. No. 50.*

LORD JUSTICE DRURY TO SIR HUMFREY GYLBERTE.
COMMISSION TO EXTEND HIS POWERS.

July 29. 1579

S^r Humfrey. fearing least in my Commission I have not sufficientlie aucthorised yow, to followe the Reable, and to pursue hym yf he chaunce to take the seas (in purpose) to go to any other place. I do therfo^r fullie auctorise yow, to prosecute hym (yf he be not, at the Dingle, or Smirwicke) And to followe hym into any place, or harbere, and there to apprehend, and staie hym selfe, his shippes and Companie, And to detaine both hym selfe his Companie, and shippes, in yo^r Custodie vntill yow shall (vpon yo^r advertisementes to me) here, what further order shalbe taken by me therin. And so do wishe yow well to fare. At Kilanny the xxixth of July 1579.

Yo^r affurd loving frend

[Signed: —]

W. DRURY.²⁸

[*Addressed*: —] To my lovinge good frend S^r Humfrey gilbert Knight wth all speed.

[*Endorsed*: —] refe^d the 6th of Auguste 1579 Thes enlargeth the instructions. Letters of further aucthoretye to S^r Homfrey Gilbert from S^r Willm. Drewry dated the .29. of Julye 1579 noted wth (a)

INSTRUCTIONS BY THE JUSTICE AND COUNCIL TO SIR
HUMFREY GYLBERTE.

July 24. 1579

[*Signed*: —]
W. Drury.

Instruccions geven and passed the xxiiijth of Julye 1579. by the L. Justice and counsell of Ireland, to
S^r

²⁸ *Vide, State Papers, Ireland, Elizabeth, Vol. LXVII. No. 66.*

S^r Humfrey Gilbert Knight for the prosequucon by Seea, aswell of James Fitzmorrice and his adherentes & accomplices as also of the Rebelliowse Navy, shippes and Barques w^{ch} brought him and his trayterowse company to landing.

1. Fyrst, yow shall make this yo^r au^thoritie knowen, to Justice Walshe, Justice Meagh, Henry Davels, and Arthur Carter her ma^{tes} commissiioners in Mounster.

2. Also ye shall by all the wayes ye can, learne the trewe and certeyne number of the shippes and men, and how they be furnysshedd.

3. Also to vnderstand, whether their entyer number be sett on land, and what forces they ar of, w^{ch} be a bourde their shippes, so as vppon this certeyne intelligence, ye shall the better, wth yo^r shippes, men and munytion sufficient, encounter theym.

4. Ye shall then, wth thadvise aforesaid, beeng so sufficientlye provided and furnysshedd wth mete forces to assaile theym both for her ma^{tes} honor and your safety and credait, yn convyncing of theym, direct your course and prosequute theym.

5. If yt shall be yo^r happe to apprehend eny of those trayto^{rs} that ye haue speciall regard of fals kepyng of theym, as they may be sent vnder sure and saf conduct, to vs the L. Justice to be examyned, for the better disclosure to be had, of the first wourking and whole entencion of this trayterowse confpyracie.

6. Ye

6. Ye shall besides as nere as yo^w can, gett speciall intelligence by espiall or otherwise, what chief personages ar confederated or arrayed in this rebellious companye, and to certifie vs thereof also, wth speede conveyent.

7. Also yf yow shall se the trayto^r embarked, to retourne, or to sett his people elsweare on land, in this land, and fynd yo^r self of force sufficient to chase and encounter him, then to followe, otherwise as nere as yow can, to discrye the place he bendith him self vnto.

8. Also, that yow leave in places to yo^w thought moost mete, and wth persons of trust, assured intelligence to be deluyered to Capten Thorneton and the other shippes, following yow, w^{ch} wey ye direct your course, and what course ye wold, they vsed, following yowe.

9. Also yf ye se the trayto^{us} entencion of retourne, to haue good regard whether he alter not his trayterowse course towards the chanell betwene this and Hollyhedd, to apprehend and stoppe passengers, that ye prevent the same.

10. Fynally, that ye take order to make knowen yo^r wantes of victell or amnycion vppon the Seea, to the apt and metyeste townes and so to take order wth theym as the more speedely those wantes may conveniently be supplied at all tymes.

[Signed:—] W^m JERRARDE

NYCHL. MALBIE

canc.

Ad. Dublin

LUCAS DILLON ²⁹

²⁹ *Vide, State Papers, Ireland, Vol. LXVII. No. 66.*

WALSYNGHAM TO GYLBERTE ABOUT HIS SHIP NO LONGER
NEEDED IN IRELAND.

GREENWICH. October 1, 1579

S^r, whereas by lres. lately written from the Lo: Justice of Ireland to my U^{es} of hir ma^{tes} Cowncell, he signifieth to them that he shall have nowe no further occasion to vse yo^r shippe, and therfore would that you sent some bodie of trust to receave yo^r sayd shippe and to have that care of hir as shee maye be bothe forth comyng for you and no wayes ill employed: I thought good to gyve you knowledge hereof, to thend you send some such person as you thincke good into Ireland for the purpose aforesayd, and that wth as convenient speed as you can. And so withe my hartie commendations I byd you farewell. From the Court at Greenw^{ch} the fyfte of october 1579.

Yo^r Loving frend :FRA: WALSYNGHAM³⁰

[*Addressed:—*] F To the right worshipfull my verie loving frend, S^r Humfrey Gilbert, knight: at Baldismyre twoe myles from Feversham in Kent. M^r Secratore Walsinghams letters toching my shippes in Ireland refey^d the 5 of octob^r 1579. This lre. provethe that the queene & the counfell are acquytted of the entertainment of S^r Humfrey Gilbertes shippes in Irelande.

³⁰ *Vide, State Papers, Domestic, Vol. CXXXII. No. 25.*

SIR HUMFREY GYLBERTE'S RECKONINGS FOR HIS SHIPS ANNE
AUCHIER, RELIEF, AND SQUIRRELL, JULY 21 TO OCT.
16, 1579.

S^r Humfrey Gilbert knight at xlijs^s ster.
per menfem the m^r xxvj^s viij^d ster. per men-
fem Pilote xvjs^s viij^d per mens: Trumpetor
& furgion at xv^s ster. the peece per mens:
m^{rs} mate Boate fwaine Carpinder Steward
& Purfer at vjs^s viij^d ster' the peece per
mens: m^r Gunner at x^s foure quarter m^{rs}
ix^s viij^d the peece boate fwaines mate gun-
ners mate and the Cooke at ix^s ij^d sterling
the peece per mens: and lxxxij mariners
and fouldiers at vjs^s viij^d ster' the peece per
mens. for one moneth & one day begin-
ning the xxjth of Julie 1579 and ending the
xviijth of Auguft eodem anno xli^{li} iiij^s xj^d q^r
sterling and the faid Captaine at xlijs^s ster'
per menfem two officers at xv^s ster' the } D ij^{li} ij^s vij^d ob q^r.
peece and xxix^{tie} mariners at vjs^s viij^d ster'
the peece per mens: appointed to defend
the faid fhipp lying in the haven of Kenfale
for one moneth xxvij daies beginning the
xixth of Auguft 1579 and ending the xijth
of October the fame yeare xxvij^{li} xvjs^s xj^d
ster' & for the victuall of the faid companies
at xiiij^s sterling the man per mens: for the
faid feverall times cxxvij^{li} x^s sterling, & for

Tonnage

Tonnage of the said shipp being of the burthen of ccxl: tonnes at v^s the tonne for all the time aforesaid clxxx^{li} ster. In all sterling ccclxxvj^{li} xj^s xj^d q^r ster. making Irish.

Belonging to the said S^r Humfrey Gilbert a Captaine at xlij^s ster. per mens^m the m^r xxvj^s viij^d ster' per mens: the pilate. xvj^s viij^d ster. per mens: the m^r Gunner x^s per mens: surgeon and drumme at xv^s sterlinge the peece per mens^m, m^{rs} mate two quarter m^{rs} boate swaine Carpenter Steward and purser at xj^s viij^d ster. the peece per mens^m and xxvij^{tie} mariners & souldiers at vj^s viij^d ster. the peece for two monethes xx^{tie} dayes beginning the second of August 1579 and ending the xvjth of October eodem anno lij^{li} x^s v^d ob. for the victualling of the said Captaine & companie for the said whole time at xiiij^s ster. the man per mens: lxxvj^{li} ster: & for the tonnage of the said ship being of the burthen of lxx tonnes at v^s ster. the tonne per mens: xlviij^{li} x^s ster: in all clxxvj^{li} v^d ob. sterling making Irish

ccxxxiiij^{li} xiiij^s xj^d

Also belonging to the said S^r Humfrey at xlij^s ster. per mens: the m^r xxvj^s viij^d ster. per mens^m a gunner at x^s sterling

per

per mens: and xiiij mariners at vj^s viij^d
 ster. per mens: for one moneth one day
 beginning the xxjth of Julie 1579 and end-
 ing the xxviijth of August eodem anno viij^{li} } xxxj^{li} v^d q^r
 xj^s ij^d ob. ster. for victualling of the said
 companie at the ordinarie rate of xiiij^s
 sterling for the said time xj^{li} xij^s & for ton-
 nage of the same being xij tonnes at v^s the
 tonne lxij^s j^d ob. ster. In all xxiiij^{li} v^s viij^d
 ster. facit Ir.

Sterling Dlxvli. xvij s. j d. ob.³¹

SIR WARHAME SENTLEGER TO THE EARL OF ORMOND.

SIR H. GYLBERTE'S SHIP RELIEF.

Decr. 1, 1579

My dutie don to yo^r L It may pleas yo^u to vnderstand that
 the ixth of november last hether came to me to this Towne
 Alexander Goeghe preeft, chaunter of Yoghell, and in com-
 pany wth him William Agnes, of that Towne, who were sent
 by the maio^r & Corporacion there, vnto me, wth a lettre for
 powder & municion, to whom I caved to be deliuered 23
 stone & 3^{li} of Serpentyne powlder, putting in sufficient fuer-
 ties in this Towne, to answere for the same, to the quenes
 ma^{tie} At w^{ch} tyme I offered the sayd Goeghe, and agnes, for
 the better defence of there Towne, That captain Rogers
 beeing then here in this haven, wth a shipp of S^r Homfray
 gilbartes (called the releef) verie well furnished, wth ordinance,
 shot, & powlder, & 24 harquebusiers in her, shold go along

wth

³¹ *Vide, State Papers, Ireland, Elizabeth, Vol. LXIX. No. 67.*

wth them into the haven of Yoghell, And there lay his shipp At ancre, alongest the side of there Towne, where there wall was fallen downe, who would have vndertaken wth his ship, ordinance, & men, to have flanked & defended that side of the Towne, requiring nothing of them, but onely meat, & drinke, for the sustentacion of his soldio^{rs}: And for the better animating of them to embrace this offer, I told them, it was not half a smolkin a daies chardges, for everie howsholder in the Towne, And further I said to them if they would take the said shipp along wth them, that I would be a meanes either to the L Justice, or to yo^r L, that the quenes ma^{tie}, should beare the chardges therof, or if it shold so fall owt, that her highnes would not beare the same, that they should cause the Countrey people, to bee contributo^{rs} to that chardge, who had there goodes & corne preserved in that Towne, w^{ch} offeres they refused being the xth of november asofraid: w^{ch} was 5. daies before the losse of the towne So not having further occasion at this tyme to trouble yo^r L I humbly take my leave From Corke this first of december 1579.

Yo^r L to command

WARHAM SENTLEGER.

I wrote sondry lres. to the said maio^r of yoghell, willing him in eny wise to entrenche & fortifie theire Towne and to make it lesse, wherby they might wth there small number defend the same willing them in eny wise not to abandon there walles till by force they were, driven from it.

EX^R: BURGATE.³²

³² *Vide, State Papers, Ireland, Vol. LXXI. No. 3, iii.*

ARTICLES OF PETITION BY SIR THOMAS GERRARD AND SIR
GEORGE PECKHAM TO WALSINGHAM. GYLBERT'S PATENT.

1580?

Articles of petition to the righte Honorable S^r Frauncis
Wallfinghame knighte Principall Secretairie vnto the
Quens Ma^{tie} by S^r Thomas Gerrarde, and S^r George
Peckeham knightes as followeth. viz.

That where S^r Humferie Gylberte knighte hath graunted
and affigned to the faide S^r Thomas and S^r George authori-
tie by vertue of the Quens Ma^{ties} lres. Patentcs to discover
and poceffe &c. Certaine heathen Landes &c.

Their humble petition is

Firfte that it wolde please her Ma^{tie} that all fouche parsons
whose names shall be sett downe in a booke Indented made
for that purpose those parte remayninge with some one of
her Ma^{ties} pryvie Councell, thother wth the faide S^r Thomas
and S^r George, Maye have lycens to travell into those Coun-
teris at the nexte viaige for conqueste wth all manne^r of
necessarie provission for them selves and their families, their
to remaine, or retorne backe to Englande at their will and
pleasure, when and as often as nede shall requie^r

Item the recusances of abillitie that will travell as afore-
faide maie have libertie (vppon discharge of the penallties
dewe to her Ma^{tie} in that behallffe) to prepare them selves for
the faide voiage-

Item

Item that other recusances not havinge to fatisfie the saide penaltie, maie notwthstandinge have lyke libertie to provide as aforesaide, and to stand charged for the paiement of the saide penallties vntill soche tyme as god shall make them able to paie the same.

Item that none vnder Colo^r of the saide Lycence shall departe owte of this Realme vnto any other foren Christian Realme.

Item that they, nor anye of them shall doo any acte tendinge to the breache of the leage betwene her Ma^{tie} and any other Prince in amytie wth her highnes, neither to the prejudice of her Ma^{tie} or this Realme-

Item that the xth person w^{ch} they shall Carrie wth them shalbe souche as have not any Certainetie wherevppon to lyve or maintaine them selves in Englande.³³

WALTER RAWLEY TO WALSYNGHAM ABOUT
SIR H. GYLBERTE'S SERVICES. 1581.

Extract

Would god the service of S^r Humfry Gilbert might be rightly lokt into who wth the third part of the garrifone now in Irland ended a rebellion not miche inferior to this in to monethes, or would god his own behavior were suche in peace as it did not make his good service forgotten, & hold hyme from the preferm[ent] he is worthy of, I take god to wittnes I speake it not for affection but to discharge my duty to her
Maiesty,

³³ *Vide, State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol. CXLVI. No. 40.*

Maiefty, for I never hard nor rede of any man more fered than he is amonge the Irishe nacion, And I do assuredly know that the best about the Earle of Desmond ye & all the vnbridled traylors of thes partes wold cum in [to] hyme & yeld them selues to the Queens mercy were it but known that he were cum amonge them. The end shall prove this to be trew. . . . from Cork the xxv of february, your honors most humble ever to cummand

W. RAWLEY.³⁴

[*Addressed:—*] To the honorable S^r Francis Walsingham Knighte Principall Secritory to her highnes.

SIR HUMFREY GYLBERTE TO WALSYNGHAM. HIS NEED
OF HIS PAY.

S^r greate extremitye enforcethe me, moste homblie, and earnestlie to crave yo^r honnors spedie furtherans of me, for the fmaill some of monye w^{che} remaynethe dewe for the service of her Ma^{tie}, w^{the} three Shippes of myne in Irelande; w^{che} weere stayed and employed ther, by the Lo. Justices Arrestes; and not by my shuet: I Did losse by yt, aboue towre Thowfande powndes: by meanes that I was stayed here, and cowlde not be permitted to retorne into Irelande, to save my shippes, and goodes: w^{che} weare stollen, and carryed awaye, as yo^r Honnor and my Lo. doe very well knowe. my Reconginge is sett downe, and perfected, and allowed, vnder the Awdytors hande of Irelande, as yo^w knowe And my Lo. Deputie that nowe is, wrotte his lres. to my Lo. of the Counsell longe fythens, for my paymente: but as yet I can
gett

³⁴ *Vide, State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol. LXXXIX. No. 82.*

gett nothinge. A miserable thinge it ys, that I poore man havinge served her Ma^{tie} in warres, and peace, aboue Seven and Twentie yeres shoulde be nowe subiecte to daylye arestes, executions, and owtlawries; yea and forside to gadge and sell my wyffes Clothes from her backe, whoe browghte me so good a lyvinge. The Queenes Ma^{tie} hathe allwaies said, that her highenes would releve me, and shall I nowe sterue (wthout her highnes privitie) for wante of my owne. Her Ma^{tie} did never yet denye me anye thinge that I ever asked; althowghe I never enioyed anye thinge to proffytt, that ever her Ma^{tie} gave me. So that my casse is thus evill, (not thorowe wante of her Ma^{ties} moste gracyous, and bowntefull confideracion in my good, but thorowe my evill happe otherwaies, Therfore my moste homble shute is, that yo^r honnor will wouchefaffe wthout delaye, to present this my pyttefull petition to her Ma^{ties} owne confideracion; whoe I am fuer will never detaine my owne from me, neyther yet denye me anye other reasonable shute for my releiffe, that haue served her highnes from a boye, to the age of white heeres. Minster in Sheppey, the xj of July 1581

Yo^r Honnors moste homblie to commaunde

[Signed: —]

HY GYLBERTE.³⁵

[Addressed: —] To the righte honorable S^r Francys Walsingham Knighte cheiffe secretorie to her Ma^{tie} deliver-

[Endorsed: —] . 11. July. 1581. From S Humfrey Gylbert. To enforme hir Ma^{tie} of the present neecessitie he is in &c that thee may the more willingly signe his warrant for his money-

³⁵ Vide, *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, Vol. CXLIX. No. 66.

SIR HUMFREY GYLBERTE TO WALSYNGHAM ASKING PAY
FOR SHIP'S SERVICE IN IRELAND.

Decr. 25. 1581.

It seemeth yo^r honno^r thincketh yt muche that I should be allowed the somme sett downe by the Awditor in my accomptes for the service of Three of my shippes in Ireland trulie I am not allowed so muche as I ought for I was appointed admirall of all the shippes that served then in Irelande vntill S^r John Parrett came over wth her ma^{ties} shipping, and am allowed but xvij^d a daie wages w^{ch} is euery ordynarie Sea Captaines paie.

Also the Anne Ager was a shippe of Two hundred Fower score & thirten tonnes or there aboutes & in my reckoninge she is sett doune but Two hundred and Fowertie tonnes so that I am wronged therby Thirtie seaven poundes tene shillinges.

Also I had in the Anne a hundred and twentie men of my owne company besides thirtie that were of m^r Davellses and the provost marshalls men whome I victayled at my owne chardges as I did all the rest and am allowed but for a hundred men, so that I am wronged therin Twentie mens wages & fyftie mens vyctayles for one moneth amountinge to Fortie one poundes Thirtenn shillinges and Fower pence.

And wheras it pleased yo^r honno^r to thincke that her ma^{tie} is double charged in the accompte for the same shippe it is nothinge so vnder yo^r honnors Correction for the first chardge is for the Captaine and Seaventen officers wth Fower score and two men for one monethe & a daie begynninge the one
and

and twentieth daie of July. 1579. and endinge the eyghten daie of August next followinge w^{ch} tyme she wth the other shippes kept at Sea to garde the Coste. And was from the xixth daie of August being the next daie after appointed to moer her self hard by the walls of Kynfall for the defense of the towne at w^{ch} tyme there was Thre score of her company dischardged, and had allowance but for fortie men afterwarde from the said. xixth daie of August vntill the xijth of October then next following being the daie of her dischardge. So that there is not any double chardge sett downe for the Anne the latter allowaunce begynninge at thende of the first dischardge.

And to satisfie yo^r honno^r for the service my shippes did, trulie they did as they were directed by the governor and therefore not to be blamed were it more or lesse but the Rebels did twise or thrise offer to affayell the towne of Kynfall but durst not by meanes of the feare they had of the Artillerye of the Anne Ager, so that they did at that tyme the service of garri-foners for the defence of the towne w^{ch} otherwise was lyke to haue bene spoyled.

And for the relief she wasted vyctayles and went to yohall where were two frenche shippes well ordynafed and manned and entred them by force and toke them bothe, they assystinge the Rebels of the towne against her ma^{tes} forces vntill the doinge of w^{ch} service the Erle of Wormewood could not come over the Ryver of yohall to affayle the towne by meanes of their artillerye.

And touching the frygott she was ymployed as a passenger betwene England & Ireland & brought over S^r William Drewry and others wth letters.

Farther

Farther ther was at that tyme of my owne powder spent in my said shippes & ymployed by the lorde Justice to the value of Sixten poundes sterling as appereth by a note of Olyver Bramfordes who was then Clerke of the Checke the w^{ch} note I haue redye to showe, and am not allowed for the same.

I hope my case shalbe measured as others hathe bene, who are paied bothe freight and wages, that spent her ma^{tie} much more money then the allowaunces of my shippes cometh vnto & yet did (wthout offence being spoken) as lytell service as they for any thinge I knowe, w^{ch} I hope should haue bene better yf I might haue had leave to serve in them my self.

I trust yo^r honnor maketh no doubt that theis shippes served the quene in suche sorte as aforesaid for that is manyfestlie knowne vnto my lordes of the Counsell bothe by S^r Willm. Drewrys lre. late lorde Justice sent over by my self touchinge the same matter as appeareth by yo^r honnors lre. directed to me dated the vth of October. 1579. as also by my lorde Greys lres. to my lordes of the Counsell dated the xxxth of January 1580. besides the testimonyall therof vnder the Awditors hande who hathe sett downe my particuler accomptes for the service of the said shippes-

And for the better prooffe therof I haue the lorde Justices Commiission & instruccions to showe vnder his hande & her ma^{ties} Counsell of Irelande & vnder the privie seale of the same Realme.

I most humblie besefchinge yo^r honno^r for yo^r better satisfaccion that S^r Warram Sellinger may be called before you and my lordes of the counsell to speake his knowledge herein who au^thorised wth others by the lorde Justices warrant did first staye, bothe me my men and shippes for the aforesaid services.

services. and did by the like aucthoritie dischardge the same.

Thus muche I thought good to advertise yo^r honno^r concerning yo^r late obiections for the entertaynment of my shippes in Ireland w^{ch} were ymployed there by the governors arrest & Commaundement & not by any desire of myne, and in trothe it hathe in effecte vtterly vndone me, for when my shippes were dischardged wthout paie and my self stayed vpon bonde and fuerties in England by Commaundement from my lordes of the privie Counsell, the Company stole, folde and gaged all that I had there and ranne away wth some of my shippes to my hindrance above Two thousand poundes as yo^r honnor and my lordes of the Counsell partlie knoweth. So that yf I should not be releaved wth the smale some that remaynethe dewe to me for those services I should be vtterly vndone & not able to shewe my hedd for dettes. wherefore I moste humblie Crave yo^r honnors spedie furtherance herein, that I may eyther be allowed as the Awditor hathe sett downe or otherwise as yt shall please my lordes of the Counsell to appointe desiringe only their present resolution of this my sute. And so I most humblie Commytt yo^r honnor to god westm^r Dated the xxvth daie of October 1581

[Signed: —] Yo^r ho. moste humbell to commande

H GYLBERTE.³⁶

[Addressed: —] To the Righte ho. S^r Franfes Walsingham Knyghte, Chiefe Secratory to her m^r. deliver.

[Endorsed: —] 25 October 1581 From S^r H. Gilbert for allowance for the seruice of his shippe in Ireland. Annswere to such obiections as may be made against it.

³⁶ Vide, *State Papers, Ireland, Elizabeth*, Vol. LXXXVI. No. 40.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN SIR HUMFREY GYLBERTE
AND THOSE WHO ADVENTURED WITH HIM.

November. 1. 1582

Copia concordat
cum originale.

Articles bipartite Indented made the secund daye of Nouember. In the yeere of o^r Lorde god from the Incarnation of Crist 1582 And in the xxiiijth Yeere of the Raingne of o^r foueraingne Lady Elizabethe by the grace of god Queene of England Fraunce and Irelande Defender of the fayethe &c: Betwene the right worship^{ll} S^r Humfrey gilbert Knight of the one party, And the M^cchant Aduenturers wth the fayde S^r Humfry gilbert and the focietie and company of them whose names s^rv^rnames and somes aduentured be Insccribed particulerly in the cedull vnto these presentes annexed of thother party, And of eyther the same parties to be fulfilled and performed in manner and forme heer ensuinge viz :

I. First that all the saied M^cchant Aduenturers wth the fayd S^r Humfry Gilbert and all and euery theire Children heyres and profteryty fo^r euer shalbe wholie free of and in bloode and also they and euery of them, And theire apprenticees seruinge seauen yeeres shalbe wholly free of and in all and all manner trade and trades of entercourse, bvinge fellingge occupyng and M^cchandizinge, Whatfoeuer in all and euery those contries Territories and dominions whatfoeuer and wherfoeuer w^{ch} the fayde s^r Humfry Gilbert or his heires his succeffors or Assignes or the Heyres succeffors or Assignes of any of them at any tyme hereafter by vertue

vertue and aucthority of her Ma^{tes} lres. patentés bearing date at Westmonaster the Eleuenth of June in the xxth yeere of her Ma^{ties} raingne &c or by conquest relinquishment or compoficion or otherwise whatfoeuer. And that the fame Societie and company of Marchant Aduenturers aforefaide fhall beare the name and alfo fue and be fued by the name of the M^rchant aduenturers wth S^r Humfrey gilbert vntill fuche tyme as it fhall pleafe God that the Quenes Ma^{tie} or S^r Humfry gilbert, their heyres or Successors, or the heyres or Successors of eyther of them fhall geue the Contries and company of Marchant aduenturers aforefayd fome other name or names therby to be incorporated and to Sue and be fued as is aforefaide Prouided Neuertheleffe that all the fayde m^rchant Aduenturers, and euery of them their children heyres and theyre posterity afforefaide fhall well and truly from time to time content and paie or caufe to be contented and payde vnto the fayde S^r Humfry gilbert his heyres Successors or Assignes but onely the half custome, And their Apprentices afforefayde the whole custome and customes ther due and to be due fo^r all and finguler their goodes and Marchandizes hereafter brought thether or at any time after this first voiage Laden or brought from thence all fishes and fishinge there or therabouts excepted and vnto them and euery of them wholly freed and freely discharged fo^r euer wth out any custome toll or Impoficion or demand therfore whatfoeuer.

2. Item That the fayde S^r Humfry gilbert his heyres Successors and assignes and the heyres Successors and assignes and euery of them and their assignes fhall from tyme to tyme and
fo^r

fo' ever ordaine make keep and establishe onely in the Towne of Southampton wth in the kingdome of England and no wher els wth in the sayde kingdome a perpetuall staple receipt and repository fo' all and all manner their goodes wares and m^cchandizes whatsoeuer at any tyme heereafter in the sayed countries territories or dominions aforesaide or the precinctes therof or of any of them In anie manner of shipp boat Creyer or other vessell or vessels whatsoeuer in the trade of marchandis or marchandizinge fo' and vnto the Realme of Englande aforesaide Laden or caused to be Laden. And also that all and euery other person and persons whatsoeuer that shall hereafter by waye of M^cchandizinge Lade or cawse to be laden wth in the sayde cuntries, Territories or dominions or the precinctes therof or anie of them for and into the realme of Englande aforesaide any manner of fishes goodes Bullian wares or marchandizes whatsoeuer shall bring or cawse to be brought the same and euerie part therof vnto the porte of the Towne of Southampton aforesaide and ther onely and no where else wth in the kingdome of England, shall discharge and Laie or lande the same Except that by the gouerner Officers and the Assistantes of the sayde Societie or the most parte of them in open courte it shalbe otherwyse ordered and disposed and shall not transport or carry from thence any of the sayde Fishes goodes bullian wares or marchandizes wth owt the speciall Licence of the Governor Treforer Agent, and Secretarie Assistantes and the Society aforesayde fo' the tyme beinge or the mostte parte of them.

3. Item That the saied S^r Humfry gilbert shall nowe before his present departure owt of England nominate elect
and

and place owt of the sayde Society and company of the
fayed M^rchant Aduenturers resiant wth in the towne of
Southampton or the precinctes therof fower Principall offi-
cers that is to saye A Gouvernor, Tresurer, Agent, and a
Secretary to continewe in the sayde offices Accordinge to
his Election will and pleasure eyther vntill they and euery
of them dyeth or resigneth or be by the same society and
company or the most part thereof fownde and Lawfullie
proued insufficient or defectiue And then after the Death or
resignation of any of the same officers or after any insuffi-
ciency so by them fownd and proued The sayde S^r Humfry
gilbert yf he be then wth in the Realme of England shall in his
and theirre steedes and places so deade resigninge or fownd
insufficient or defectiue nominate elect and place owt of the
sayde Societie and company so many others to supply his and
theyre roome and roomes and in the same office & offices to
continewe and indure accordinge to his owne good will and
pleasure, But yf it happen the sayde S^r Humfry gilbert then
to be absent owt of the Realme of England aforesayde at the
tyme of anie suche deathe resignacion or insufficiencie or
defect proued as aforesayde, That then and in those cases it
shalbe at all tymes lawfull to the rest of the sayde officers not
Dying or resigning nor fownde insufficient or defectiue and to
theyre Assistentes Society and company aforesayde or to the
most part of them vtterly to remoue and displace all and euery
suche officer and officers afforesayde and in his and in euery
of their places so Dying resigning or remoued to nominate
elect and chuse three others of the most wyse and grauest men
of the same Society and company ther dwelling in South-
ampton aforesayde in their writinge testefying and declaring

the cause and causes therof to presente vnto the Honorable S^r Fraunces Walsingham knight one of her Ma^{ties} Priuie counsaill and Highe Secretarie, As vnto theyr in this respect vnder her Ma^{ties} and the sayde S^r Humfry gilbert in his Absence by him appointed cheif and principall Patron and gouernor, The names and Surnames of all and every the sayd three other men so at any tyme or tymes hereafter In anie and in euerie of the cases afforesayde so nominated elected and chofen, And vpon all and euerie suche presentment and presentmentes afforesayde it shalbe Lawfull vnto the sayde S^r Fraunces Walsingham at his onely will and good pleasure (so that he doe it wth in the space of xx^{ty} Dayes then next ensuing) to prick one of them so nominated and presented And by prickinge to ratefy and confirme the same man to be the Lawfull officer for that tyme in the steed and place of thother Late officer so deade resigning or remoued as afforesayde. And the same person and persons so by him pricked ratefied and confirmed, vntill his or theyre. naturall death resignation or remocion shall keep haue and enioie all the place proffites and preheminences incident therunto whollie and in as ample manner and forme As his predeceffors in that office or anie of them before that tyme ever kept had and inioyed, But yf it shall happen the sayed S^r Fraunces Walsingham vpon the said presentmentes of the thre other names and furnames afforesayde at anie tyme not to prick ratefy and confirme one of them as afforesayde wth in the space of xx^{ty} Dayes as afforesayed, That then and fo^r that tyme it shalbe lawfull fo^r the rest of th' officers, Assistance, Society and company afforesayed or to the most part of them to all intentes constructions and purposes to name place and confirme

firme in the cases aforesayde and to theeffectes aforesayde all and euery other suche officer and officers aforesayde as they or the most of them shall best lyke and agree vpon for that tyme Prouided alwaies that all and euery of the saied officer and officers shall once in euery yeere that is to saye wth in vij dayes next ensuing the feast of all Sainctes yeerly make and yeelde vp in their sufficient writtinge vnto the rest of the officers Assistentes and Society aforesayd or to the most parte of them for the tyme being wth in theyre place of common Assemblies their feuerall true iust and lawfull Accomptes and rekeninges of all and singuller suche receiptes and payementes whatsoever by them or anie of them or thiere assignes at anie tyme in the yeere before that tyme to the vse and behoof of the sayed society and company of M^rchant Aduenturers aforesayd their successors or Assignes or anie of them receiued had and imburfed.

4. Item That the sayde Gouuernor And other the officers and society and company aforesayde dwellinge in Southampton and else wher wth in the Realme of England that conueniently may come theither shall in and vpon the first daye of August next ensuinge the date heereof or before yf they or the most parte of them shall thincke it necessary and convenient shall in some open and comodious place by the same officers apointed in good manner meet and assemble them selues toghether about Eyght of the clock in the Morninge and after some deuine Seruice or sermon had and heard shall freely nominate elect and chuse and place owt of the sayed company and society aforesayde Eyght of the most wysest and Discreatest persons for one wholle yeer then next followinge

lowinge to be Affistantes and to theyre vttermoſt power dilligently to Affiſt the ſame officers and ſociety and company aforeſayde. And alſo ſhall then and there in open court fo^r the better gouernment and commodyty of the whole ſociety and company aforeſayde according vnto theyre wiſdomes and good diſcretions Effectuellie make ordaine and eſtabliſhe fo^r them and euery of them and theyre Succeſſors all and all maner good neceſſary and convenient orders Decrees and ſtatutes And that the wholle Society and company aforeſayde And everie of them and theyre ſucceſſors and aſſignes ſhalbe vnto the ſame orders decrees and ſtatutes and to euery of them in all reſpectes obedience and the ſame and euery one of them ſhall fulfill and perfourme vpon ſuche payn and paines As the ſayde Gouernner, Treafurer Agent ſecretarie Affiſtantes and the Society and company aforeſaide or the moſt parte of them fo^r the tyme being ſhall in the ſame orders decrees and ſtatutes and euery of them ſpeceſie and ſet downe in due order and true meaning of the ſame to be inflicted and impoſed vpon all and euery offender and offenders doing to the contrary. And alſo that to the ſame good effectes and purpoſes the ſayed officers Affiſtances and the whole Society and company aforeſayd and euery of them (yf they maie conueniently) ſhall in like ſorte at the tyme and place aforeſaid vpon the firſte Daye of Marche then next followinge meet togeather and keep their other generall lyke Court or Affembly. And ſo forth alſo after that tyme the ſayde officers all and ſinguler and the ſociety and companie aforeſayde In like manner and to the good intentes and purpoſes aforeſayde in and vpon euery of the ſayed two firſt dayes of Auguſt and March aforeſayd at the place and tyme
aforeſaide

aforesaide yeerely and in euery yeere for euer shall duete-
fullie meet together and keepe their generall Sessions and
solemene Assemblies and courtes as aforesaide Prouided
nevertheles that it shalbe lawfull vnto the saide officers and
Assistances aforesayde and the most part of them wherof the
Gouerner or Tresorer to be alwaies one at their pleasers
to Assemble themselves together wher otherwise and as
ofte as they or the most part of them wherof the sayed Gou-
ernor or Tresurer alwaies to be one shall for the direction
of newe or newly emergent causes or busines thinke it meet
and convenient Prouided farder that yf it happen in those
meane and speciall meetings and assemblies or any of them
any person or persons to be wronged or hardly dealt wth all
euery party so greued maie lawfully apeale from the saied offi-
cers and the speciall assemblies aforesaide vnto the next court
and generall Sessions to be holden and kept, And ther vpon
due examinacion and tryall of the cause to receiue a fynall
order and determinacion therin from the saied officers Assist-
ance and the whole Society and company aforesaid or the
most part therof Prouided Also farder that euery of the sayde
generall courtes Sessions and Assemblies aforesayd at the
Dayes tymes and places afforesaid Yeerely and in euery yeere
for euer to be kept holden and solempnized in manner and
forme aforesayde shall yf need require be holden and con-
tinewe by the space of Eygth daies or els longer or shorter
as vnto the saide officers and society aforesayd or to the most
part of them ther shalbe thought most meet and conuenient
And yf it happen any of the saied two first Dayes of August
or Marche aforesayde to fall vpon the Sondaie or dominicall
daye that then and in all those cases the sayed generall
Courtes

Courtes and assemblies and euery of them to be kept holden and celebrated the secunde daye of those Moneths and of euery of them in manner and forme aforesayde.

5. Item that it shalbe lawfull vnto the sayed gouernor officers Assistances Society and companie aforesaide and the most part of and their succeffors from tyme to tyme and as they or the most part of them shall thinck it meet and conuenient onely in the generall courtes and assemblies aforesayde vpon fuche fyne and fynes as shalbe by them or the most part of them fo' the tyme being Seafed taxed and agreed vpon to admitte and receiue into the saied Society and company fuche and as many redemptionary and redemptionaries as they or the most part of them shall well like Provided alwaies that as euery some of five powndes in monny or commodities nowe first aduentured is called ment and intended to be a fingle aduenture so it shall not be lawfull vnto the sayde society and company at anie tyme to admit anie redemptionary to purchase and haue fo' his fyne any more or aboue fower fingle aduentures after the rate of the fyue powndes aforesayde as the same shall ryse and of all And the fyne and fynes of the saide redemptionaries fo' the space of fifty yeeres nowe next ensuing shall lawfully imploie and conuert to theyre owne vses and comodities and to the commodity of theyre heyres and assignes rate for rate and according to the vallew of their particuler somme and somes aduentured and in the cedula indented specefied and contained Sauing allwaies and reserued vnto the sayde S^r Humfry gilbert his heyres succeffors and Assignes and to euery of them the fifte part of euery fuche fyne and fynes to the onely vse of the saide S^r Humfry gilbert his heyres succeffors and Assignes

Assignes by the sayd gouverner Assistance society and companie aforesayd for the tyme being to be well and truly contented and pay Provided alwaies that all and every the sayd redemptionary and redemptionaries their children and Apprentices serving seaven yeeres and theyre posterity and every of them shall from tyme to tyme well and truly paye or cause to be payed vnto the sayd S^r Humfry Gilbert his heyres and assigns the whole custome and customes there in those contries territories and Dominions aforesayd at anie tyme due or to be due for all and every their goodes wares and Marchandizes brought thether or Laden from thence fishes and fishing onely excepted and foreprysed, And that neyther they the saide redemptionaries nor any of them nor their children nor heyres nor apprenticees nor posterity aforesaide shalbe by reasone of anie their adventures eyther in person or in goodes priueledged to haue wthin any of the saide contries, Territories or dominions anie manner of Land or inherritance of lande or suche other prerogatiues as the M^cchant adventurers specified and contained in the cedull indented ar infreed of and in consideration of their first adventures ought to have.

6. Item That every man adventuring in this first voidage whose known name and surname and some adventured shalbe sett downe in the sayd indented cedull of the Adventurers heerunto annexed and signed wth the hand and seale of the saide S^r Humfry gilbert by the Assignment and allowance of the saide S^r Humfry gilbert his heyres his successors or Assignes shall haue to him and to his heires for euer in those countries Territories or Dominions or some one of them

them fo by him the faide S Humfry Gilbert his heyres Successors or Assignes or any of them at any tyme after the date hereof discouered conquered or any wages possessed, fo' euery fyue powndes in mony or comodities Aduentured one thousand acres of ground over and aboue the retourne of his Aduenture as the fame shall fall owt to gayne or losses and so forth proportionably according to the rate of euery feuerall aduenture aforefaide.

7. Item that euery aduenture in person and not in goodes in this first voiadg and theyre heyres shalbe fo' euer free of and in all trades and traffickes of and in all those contries territoris and Dominions and euery of them paying vnto the sayde S^r Humfry gilbert his heyres successors and assignes the half customes and customes of and fo' theyr wares goods and m^cchandizes, fishe and fishing onely Excepted as aforefaide brought from hence thether or from thence hither vnto England aforefayde and that it shalbe lawfull hereafter fo' those that haue not nowe aduentured in goodes putting in theyre mony fo' their aduentures onely into the banke fo' euery officer and gentelman in respect of the aduenture of his person to be admitted an aduenturer of a Doble aduenture and fo' euery privat person of a single aduenture, yf they so will doe.

8. Item That every man that shall nowe in this first voiage aduenture in stock and also goe in person shall haue a doble proporcion of land ther in those countries territories or Dominions aforefayd aswell fo' his person as also fo' his Aduenture in goodes that anie other hathe that shall venture onely
in

in goodes and not in perfon. And that every Gentelman In this fort Aduenturing yf at any tyme he will put fo much mony into the comon bancke or purfe after the rate of a fingle aduenture aforefayde maye haue and fhallbe admited vnto four fingle Aduentures and euery pryuat mann vnto two fingle aduentures, Doing and paying in his mony therefore ratably as aforefayde.

9. Item That euery man that fhall in this firft voiadge tarry wth the faide S^r Humfry gilbert in the fayde countries territories or Dominions or any part therof nowe intended to be difcouered conquered feafed or poffeffed ther wth him to remaine by the fpace of Eyghte moneths next after his firft arryuall ther as a poffeffion taker and holder to the onely vfe and behoof of the fayed S^r Humfrey gilbert his heyres and affignes fhall haue double the proporcion in and of lande ther afwell fo^r his perfon as alfo fo^r his other aduenture over and aboue all thofe proporcions and Acres of Landes w^{ch} he fhall haue that goeth thether in perfon and remainethe not ther fo long tyme wth the fayed S^r Humfrey gilbert but retourneth from thence againe before thende of the fayde fpace of Eyght moneths aforefaid Except allwaies fuche perfon and perfons as it fhall pleafe the fayed S^r Humfry gilbert to vfe and employe in Meflage or otherwyfe in this next retourne from thence into England w^{ch} perfon And perfons fo vfed and Imploied fhall haue the fame proporcion of Land ther as others as is aforefaide remaininge ther fo long tyme fhall haue.

10. Item That every perfon and perfons fo aduenturing in this firft voiadge in perfon or in goodes or in bothe perfon

and

and goodes shall holde all and singuler their sayd proporcion of And numbers of Acres of Land aforefaide to him and to them and to his and to their heyres fo^r ever in free Soccage tenure onely and not in Capite of and from the faide S^r Humfry gilbert his heyres Assignes and Successors fo^r euer yeelding and paying therfore Yeerly vnto the sayde S^r Humfry Gilbert his heyres Assignes and Successors After the ende of the first Seaven yeers expired that the same number of Acres shall be by him or them possessed and manured in Signe of a Chyvage or quitt rent fo^r every thowfand Acres ten shillinges and so ratablye and Yeerely fo^r ever.

11. Item That in farther reward and for perpetuall Memory of all those w^{ch} nowe in this voiage dothe aduenture thither wth the faide S^r Humfry gilbert eyther in person or in goods or in bothe as is before specefied and their heyres children and successors shall be fo^r ever free and freely Discharged from all tortures Marshall lawes and from all arrestes and attachmentes of all and singuler their bodies and goods whatsoever fo^r all and every accion and accions personalls Realls and mixt, both in those countreyes, territories and Dominions and in every of them and every of theyr precinctes, and also at all tymes in all and singuler their passag and passages both by water and Land thither and from thence heyther notwithstanding any power and auctority or preheminance whatsoever heretofore geven and granted or hereafter to be geven and granted to the Sayde S^r Humfry gilbert his heyres successors and assignes or the heyres successors or assignes of any of them by the sayde lres. patentees from o^r soueraigne Lady Elizabeth Quene of England aforesayd or anie otherwyse.

12. Item

12. Item That all and every of the kindred in bloude and consanguinity of the sayd S^r Humfry gilbert and his wyf and of everie of them shalbe in all those contries territories and Dominions and every of them fo^r ever free and inioye all and every the aforesaide liberties freedoms immunities and priviledges and every of them wthowt any fyne or fines whatfoeuer in as ample and as large manner as any of the saide Society and company by anie waies or meanes hath or maie or ought to haue and inioie, Anie thing or thinges in these articles or anie of them specified o^r containd to the contrary in any wyse notwthstanding-Prouided Alwaies and it is straightly charged and comanded And expressely inhibited and forbid vnto the sayde Society and company aforesaide and every of them by the saide S^r Humfry gilbert that none of the nowe Marchantes of the Muscouy company nor none of their children or issues nor none of the nowe inhabitants of the Towne of Southampton or wthin the freedome therof nor none of their children or issues of anie of them w^{ch} neyther aduentured wth the sayde S^r Humfry gilbert in his first pretence of Discouery nor nowe in this last voiage shall at any time heereafter be capable of the freedoms or of any part of the liberties imvnities or priviledges aforesayde by redemption grant gifte consent or by anie other waies or meanes whatfoeuer, And in consideracion thereof the saide S^r Humfry gilbert his heyres succeffors and assignes covenanteth and granteth to and wth the saide Society and companie by these presentes that he the saide S^r Humfry gilbert his heires succeffors and assignes or some of them shall at all times hereafter confiscate and sease vppon as forfected all and all manner their fishes goodes wares and marchandizes there
in

in those countries Territories or Dominions or anie of their
 precinctes aforefaid at anie time heereafter fownd or Laden
 there or from thence and also all and all manner the fishes
 goodes and wares and marchandizes of all other person or
 persons whatfoeuer not being free of this Society and com-
 panie inhabiting wthin this Realme of England or the Isles of
 Guernsey and Jersey or the Isles lying therabouts ther in
 those countries territories or Dominions or wthin the pre-
 cinctes of anie of them at anie time fownd and taken shalbe
 confiscated and forfected the one half to himself his heyres
 Successors and assignes and thother half vnto the faide So-
 ciety and companie of the nowe marchant Aduenturees wth the
 sayed S^r Humfry gilbert By him the sayd S^r Humfry gilbert
 his heyres Successors and assignes well and truely to be con-
 tented and paied And in Lyke sort all and all manner Seafure
 and seafures forfect and forfeitures of anie and all manner of
 goodes wares and marchandizes of any and of every the per-
 son and persons aforefaide so as aforefaide restrained inhab-
 ited and not free of the faide society and company made
 taken or donne by the faied company their successors and
 Assignes wthin the porte or Towne of Southhampton or wthin
 anie porte or place of the Realme of Englande shalbe in
 Lyke sort made and taken to the onely vse and profit of the
 faide S^r Humfry gilbert his heires Successors and assignes,
 And alsoe to the vse and behoof of the faide societie and
 company aforefaide their successors and assignes by Equall
 half porcions to be devided that is to saie the one half therof
 to the faide S^r Humfry gilbert his heyres successors and
 Assignes, And thother half to the faide society and company
 their successors and Assignes fo' ever.

13. Item that all those w^{ch} shall apeere to be certified vnto the officers and Society aforesayd vnder the hande and seale of the sayde S^r Humfry gilbert to have ben adventurers in the last pretence of discouery wth him and also althose w^{ch} continewed wth him in the voiage vntill the breaking vp therof at Kinfaell in Ireland in those Countries territories and Dominions and every of them shalbe as free to all intentes and purposes as the nowe Adventurers ar or ought to be in any manner and respect aforesaide.

14. Item That the saide S^r Humfrey gilbert of his special and meere mocion towardses the comfort and relief of the poore travelers and decaied persons of the society aforesaid and other good vses to be bestowed and imployed wth in the saide towne of Southampton aforesayd geueth and granteth vnto the saide Society and company of the Marchant aduenturers aforesaide and to their succeffors and Assignes fo^r ever tenne thowsande Acres of Lande to be holden of him his heyres Succeffors and assignes vnto the saide Society and company aforesayde And vnto their succeffors and assignes fo^r euer in those contries Territories and Dominions aforesayde or some of them in Socage tenure aforesayd and also one pownde owt of every his hundreth pownds that shall hereafter ryse and come vnto him owt of and vpon his fift part of the fynes of the Redemptionaries aforesayde during the terme of the fifty yeeres aforesayde And the saide Society and company also and their succeffors in like sort and to those goode workes and intentes shall and will yeerly geve graunt and distribute in monny one pound of everie hundreth powndes that by godes prouidence and their good industry

industry shall heereafter happen to be gotten and gained or growen vnto the same society and company aforefaide, owt of and by all the yeerelye gaines and profittes of all the whole company aforefaide fo' ever by reason of their trade and traffick theyther and from thence as aforefaide-

15. Item That he the faide S^r Humfry gilbert his heyres and succeffors after his first arriwall in the sayde countries Territories or Dominions or anie of them and as soone as he or they can doe the same to good effect in Lawe shall effectually ratifie confirme and assure to all intentes and purposes vnto all and every the faide Aduenturers their heyres children posterity and others aforesayd in manner and forme aforefaide all and every the faide Landes Liberties freedoms immunities and commodities and every other thing and thinges requisitt and incident therunto and to every part therof in such manner and sort as by and from her Ma^{tie} her heyres and succeffors fo' the further confirmacion and strenghtning of the premisses and every part therof vnto the said Governor officers Assistantes society and company aforefaide and vnto every of them their heyres children succeffors and others aforesayd in anie respect shalbe at anie tyme heereafter needfull or necessary And that all and every the grauntes Articles clausfes and sentences aforefaide concerning eyther the said S^r Humfry gilbert his heires or succeffors or any of the faide Society or company of Marchant Aduenturers or any other person or persons aforefaide shalbe at all times construed interpreted and vnderstoode according to the most true plaine and vsuall sence and construction in all thinges and no otherwyse And that yf ther shall happen any difference betwene
the

the sayde S^r Humfrey gilbert his heires and assignes and the faide society and company or any of them their heires children or posterity or any other aforesayde abowt any ambiguous construccion of any Article or articles clause or sentence whatsoever heerin contained the exposition and finall determination of all and every suche controversies and differences shall rest and abide in the handes judgment and finall determination of the Lorde Chaunceller of England for the tyme beinge In Witnes wherof, vnto the one part of the sayde Articles Indented remayning wth the faide society and company aforesayde the faide S^r Humfry gilbert hathe putt his hande and seale and to the other part remaining wth the faide S^r Humfrey gilbert the faide society and company aforesayde have cawfed the seale of the office of the Maioralty of the Towne of Southampton aforesayde to be sett vnto Yeuen the Daye and yeere first Aboue written.³⁷

[*Endorsed:—*] 809 5.

Articles of agreement indented between S^r Humfrey Gilbert and fuch of Hampton as aduenture w^t him: as also between him and all other Aduenturers with him.

REMEMBRANCES FOR THE LADY GYLBERTE TOUCHING THE
MANOR OF MINSTER IN THE ISLE OF SHEPPEY.

Jan. 1583.

S^r Humfrey Gylberte boughte of the L. Cheyney the Man-
nor of Mynster wth in the Isle of Sheppey, in the conveyance
whereof was condycioned: that if S^r Humfrey did not paye
his mony at his dayes lymited (the laste whereof was on the
iiiijth

³⁷ Vide, *State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth*, Vol. CLV. No. 86.

iiijth of July laſte paſte when hee was to paye one thowſand markes) that then the land ſhold reuerte to the L. Cheyney in his former eſtate.

2. Before w^{ch} daye, S^r Humfrey ſold all the ſame land to S^r Edward Hobbey, who in reſpecte of forbearinge of three thowſand powndes for three yeres parcell of the mony for his purchaſe, made a leaſe to S^r Humfrey for iii yeres of ſo mutche of the ſaid Mannor as was woorth vij^{xt} per annum de claro.

3. And becauſe S^r Humfrey after his purchaſe taken from the L. Cheyney had entangled the land wth dyvers remaynders and vſes, to avoyd thoſe intanglementes, hee covenanted wth S^r Edward Hobbey that yt ſhold bee lawfull for hym to forſet the land to the ſaid L. Cheyney by defalte of the laſte paymente lymited to S^r Humfrey, w^{ch} was on the iiijth of July as aboveſaid: vpon condicion, that S^r Edward ſhold take affueraunce thereof backe agayne from the L. Cheyney. Vpon ſutche covenantes condicions and vſes as was lymited and ſett downe in the former affueraunce betwene S^r Humfrey and S^r Edward, whereto he is bound in viij thowſand markes, gyvinge alſo theire woordes before dyvers gentlemen, that vpon takinge of the newe affueraunce nothing ſhold differ from the firſte intente and true meaninge of the former bergayne.

4. Since w^{ch} time S^r Edward hathe only vſed thadvantage of his newe affueraunce to the defraudinge of the leaſe made by him to S^r Humfrey as aforeſaid, and haſſord of his
band

band for warrauntize of the land, and here no waye preiudycel to the value of one penny.

Wherefore the Lady Gylberte moste humbly prayethe, that shee maye enioye her lease accordinge to the true meaninge of the firste bergayne because yt is the onlye staye that is lefte her to lyve by in her husbandes absence.³³

³³ *Vide, State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol. CLVIII. No. 50.*

THE PRINCE SOCIETY.



1903

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

IN THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND
SEVENTY-FOUR.

AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court
assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:*

SECTION 1. John Ward Dean, J. Wingate Thornton, Edmund F. Slafter, and Charles W. Tuttle, their associates and successors, are made a corporation by the name of the PRINCE SOCIETY, for the purpose of preserving and extending the knowledge of American History, by editing and printing such manuscripts, rare tracts, and volumes as are mostly confined in their use to historical students and public libraries.

SECTION 2. Said corporation may hold real and personal estate to an amount not exceeding thirty thousand dollars.

SECTION 3. This act shall take effect upon its passage.

Approved March 18, 1874.

NOTE.—The Prince Society was organized on the 25th of May, 1858. What was undertaken as an experiment has proved successful. This ACT OF INCORPORATION has been obtained to enable the Society better to fulfil its object, in its expanding growth.



THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. — This Society shall be called THE PRINCE SOCIETY; and it shall have for its object the publication of rare works, in print or manuscript, relating to America.

ARTICLE II. — The officers of the Society shall be a President, four Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, and a Treafurer; who together shall form the Council of the Society.

ARTICLE III. — Members may be added to the Society on the recommendation of any member and a confirmatory vote of a majority of the Council.

Libraries and other Institutions may hold membership, and be represented by an authorized agent.

All members shall be entitled to and shall accept the volumes printed by the Society, as they are issued from time to time, at the prices fixed by the Council; and membership shall be forfeited by a refusal or neglect so to accept the said volumes.

Any person may terminate his membership by resignation addressed in writing to the President; provided, however, that he shall have previously paid for all volumes issued by the Society after the date of his election as a member.

ARTICLE IV. — The management of the Society's affairs shall be vested in the Council, which shall keep a faithful record of its proceedings,

proceedings, and report the same to the Society annually, at its General Meeting in May.

ARTICLE V. — On the anniversary of the birth of the Rev. Thomas Prince, namely, on the twenty-fifth day of May, in every year (but if this day shall fall on Sunday or a legal holiday, on the following day), a General Meeting shall be held at Boston, in Massachusetts, for the purpose of electing officers, hearing the report of the Council, auditing the Treasurer's account, and transacting other business.

ARTICLE VI. — The officers shall be chosen by the Society annually, at the General Meeting; but vacancies occurring between the General Meetings may be filled by the Council.

ARTICLE VII. — By-Laws for the more particular government of the Society may be made or amended at any General Meeting.

ARTICLE VIII. — Amendments to the Constitution may be made at the General Meeting in May, by a three-fourths vote, provided that a copy of the same be transmitted to every member of the Society, at least two weeks previous to the time of voting thereon.

COUNCIL.

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

1. THE Society shall be administered on the mutual principle, and solely in the interest of American history.

2. A volume shall be issued as often as practicable, but not more frequently than once a year.

3. An editor of each work to be issued shall be appointed, who shall be a member of the Society, whose duty it shall be to prepare,

pare, arrange, and conduct the same through the press; and, as he will necessarily be placed under obligations to scholars and others for assistance, and particularly for the loan of rare books, he shall be entitled to receive ten copies, to enable him to acknowledge and return any courtesies which he may have received.

4. All editorial work and official service shall be performed gratuitously.

5. All contracts connected with the publication of any work shall be laid before the Council in distinct specifications in writing, and be adopted by a vote of the Council, and entered in a book kept for that purpose; and, when the publication of a volume is completed, its whole expense shall be entered, with the items of its cost in full, in the same book. No member of the Council shall be a contractor for doing any part of the mechanical work of the publications.

6. The price of each volume shall be a hundredth part of the cost of the edition, or as near to that as conveniently may be; and there shall be no other assessments levied upon the members of the Society.

7. A sum, not exceeding one thousand dollars, may be set apart by the Council from the net receipts for publications, as a working capital; and when the said net receipts shall exceed that sum, the excess shall be divided, from time to time, among the members of the Society, by remitting either a part or the whole cost of a volume, as may be deemed expedient.

8. All moneys belonging to the Society shall be deposited in the New England Trust Company in Boston, unless some other banking institution shall be designated by a vote of the Council; and said moneys shall be entered in the name of the Society, subject to the order of the Treasurer.

9. It shall be the duty of the President to call the Council together, whenever it may be necessary for the transaction of business, and to preside at its meetings.

10. It shall be the duty of the Vice-Presidents to authorize all bills before their payment, to make an inventory of the property of the Society during the month preceding the annual meeting and to report the same to the Council, and to audit the accounts of the Treasurer.

11. It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to issue all general notices to the members, and to conduct the general correspondence of the Society.

12. It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to keep a complete record of the proceedings both of the Society and of the Council, in a book provided for that purpose.

13. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to forward to the members bills for the volumes, as they are issued; to superintend the sending of the books; to pay all bills authorized and indorsed by at least two Vice-Presidents of the Society; and to keep an accurate account of all moneys received and disbursed.

14. No books shall be forwarded by the Treasurer to any member until the amount of the price fixed for the same shall have been received; and any member neglecting to forward the said amount for one month after his notification, shall forfeit his membership.





OFFICERS
OF
THE PRINCE SOCIETY
FROM ITS ORGANIZATION.

Presidents.

*SAMUEL GARDNER DRAKE, A.M., Boston	1858 to 1870.
*JOHN WARD DEAN, A.M., Boston	1870 to 1880.
The Rev. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, D.D., Boston	1880.

Vice-Presidents.

*THOMAS WATERMAN, Boston	1858 to 1866.
*FREDERIC KIDDER, Boston	1858 to 1863.
*JEREMIAH COLBURN, A.M., Boston	1858 to 1863.
*JOHN WARD DEAN, A.M., Boston	1863 to 1870.
*JOHN WINGATE THORNTON, A.M., Boston	1863 to 1878.
The Rev. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, D.D., Boston	1866 to 1880.
WILLIAM BLAKE TRASK, A.M., Dorchester	1870.
*CHARLES HENRY BELL, LL.D., Exeter, N. H.	1874 to 1893.
JOHN MARSHALL BROWN, A.M., Portland, Me.	1878 to 1885.
*JOHN WARD DEAN, A.M., Boston	1880 to 1902.
JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, A.M., Portland, Me.	1885 to 1894.
*The Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER, A.M., Dorchester	1894 to 1900.
DAVID GREENE HASKINS, JR., A.M., Cambridge	1895.
THORNTON K. LOTHROP, A.M., Boston	1900.
FREDERICK L. GAY, Brookline	1902.

Corresponding Secretaries.

*JOHN WARD DEAN, A.M., Boston	1858 to 1863.
*WILLIAM HENRY WHITMORE, A.M., Boston	1863 to 1872.
*The Hon. CHARLES H. BELL, LL.D., Exeter, N. H.	1872 to 1874.
*CHARLES WESLEY TUTTLE, Ph. D., Boston	1874 to 1881.
*The Rev. HENRY WILDER FOOTE, A.M., Boston	1882 to 1889.
*ROBERT NOXON TOPPAN, A.M., Cambridge	1890 to 1901.
ALBERT MATTHEWS, A.B., Boston	1901.

Recording Secretaries.

*WILLIAM HENRY WHITMORE, A.M., Boston	1858 to 1863.
*WILLIAM SUMNER APPLETON, A.M., Boston	1863 to 1865.
The Rev. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, D.D., Boston	1865 to 1866.
*WILLIAM S. APPLETON, A.M., Boston	1866 to 1870.
WILLIAM THEOPHILUS ROGERS MARVIN, A.M., Boston	1870 to 1873.
*WILLIAM H. WHITMORE, A.M., Boston	1873 to 1875.
DAVID GREENE HASKINS, JR., A.M., Cambridge	1875 to 1895.
The Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, A.M., Canton, Mass.	1895.

Treasurers.

*JOHN WELLS PARKER, Roxbury	1858 to 1863.
*JEREMIAH COLBURN, A.M., Boston	1863 to 1873.
*CHARLES WESLEY TUTTLE, Ph.D., Boston	1873 to 1874.
ELBRIDGE HENRY GOSS, Melrose	1874 to 1898.
HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM, A.B., Manchester, Mass.	1898.



OFFICERS
OF
THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

1903.

President.

THE REV. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, D.D. . . . BOSTON, MASS.

Vice-Presidents.

WILLIAM B. TRASK, A.M. BOSTON, MASS.
DAVID GREENE HASKINS, JR., A.M. CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
THORNTON K. LOTHROP, A.M. BOSTON, MASS.
FREDERICK L. GAY BROOKLINE, MASS.

Corresponding Secretary.

ALBERT MATTHEWS, A.B. BOSTON, MASS.

Recording Secretary.

THE REV. HENRY F. JENKS, A.M. CANTON, MASS.

Treasurer.

HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM, A.B. BOSTON, MASS.



THE PRINCE SOCIETY.

1903.

Charles Francis Adams, LL.D.	Lincoln, Mafs.
George Allifon Armour, A.M.	Princeton, N. J.
Edward Everett Ayer	Chicago, Ill.
Ezra Henry Baker, A.B.	Boston, Mafs.
Thomas Willing Balch, A.B., LL.B.	Philadelphia, Pa.
Charles Fitch Bates	Allston, Mafs.
James Phinney Baxter, A.M.	Portland, Me.
The Rev. Joshua Peter Bodfish	Canton, Mafs.
Charles Knowles Bolton, A.B.	Shirley, Mafs.
John Marshall Brown, A.M.	Portland, Me.
The Hon. William Eaton Chandler, LL.D.	Concord, N. H.
Clarence Howard Clark	Philadelphia, Pa.
Henry Troth Coates, A.M.	Philadelphia, Pa.
The Rev. Arthur Theodore Connolly, D.B.	Jamaica Plain, Mafs.
Webster Cook	Saginaw, Mich.
Deloraine Pendre Corey	Boston, Mafs.
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Andrew McFarland Davis, A.M.	Cambridge, Mafs.
Edward Denham	New Bedford, Mafs.
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Prof. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, A.M.	New Haven, Conn.
The Rev. Morton Dexter, A.M.	Boston, Mafs.
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The Rev. Christopher Rhodes Eliot, A.M., B.T.	Boston, Mafs.

Edward Everett	Boston, Mafs.
John Whittemore Farwell	Boston, Mafs.
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Charles William Galloupe	Boston, Mafs.
Ernest Lewis Gay, A.B.	Boston, Mafs.
Frederick Lewis Gay	Brookline, Mafs.
Julius Gay, A.M.	Farmington, Conn.
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Amor Leander Hollingsworth, A.M.	Milton, Mafs.
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Archibald Murray Howe, A.M., LL.B.	Cambridge, Mafs.
James Frothingham Hunnewell, A.M.	Boston, Mafs.
David Hunt, A.M., M.D.	Boston, Mafs.
Frederick Thayer Hunt, A.B.	Weymouth, Mafs.
The Rev. Henry Fitch Jenks, A.M.	Canton, Mafs.
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Nathaniel Thayer Kidder, S. Agric. B.	Milton, Mafs.
Edward Floyd de Lancey, M.A.	New York, N. Y.
Isaac Remsen Lane	New York, N. Y.
Miss Agnes Christian Laut	Wassaic, N. Y.
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Thornton Kirkland Lothrop, A.M., LL.B.	Boston, Mafs.
William Henry Maher	Toledo, Ohio.
Mrs. William Frederic Matchett	Boston, Mafs.
Albert Matthews, A.B.	Boston, Mafs.
Frederick Warren Goddard May	Boston, Mafs.
Edward Percival Merritt, A.B.	Boston, Mafs.

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George Shattuck Morrison, A.M., LL.B.	Peterboro, N. H.
Harold Murdock	Boston, Mafs.
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The Rev. James De Normandie, D.D.	Boston, Mafs.
Prof. Charles Eliot Norton, LL.D.	Cambridge, Mafs.
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Nathaniel Paine, A.M.	Worcester, Mafs.
Daniel Parish, Jr.	New York, N. Y.
The Rev. Henry Ainsworth Parker, A.M.	Cambridge, Mafs.
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Albert Turner Plummer	New York, N. Y.
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Nathaniel Morton Safford, A.M., LL.B.	Milton, Mafs.
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Joshua Montgomery Sears, A.B.	Boston, Mafs.
Charles Archibald Shaw	New York, N. Y.
William Green Shillaber	Boston, Mafs.
The Rev. Carlos Slafter, A.M.	Dedham, Mafs.
The Rev. Edmund Farwell Slafter, D.D.	Boston, Mafs.
Charles Card Smith, A.M.	Boston, Mafs.
Charles Armstrong Snow, A.B.	Boston, Mafs.
Otho Sylvester Arnold Sprague	Chicago, Ill.
James Ringe Stanwood	Portsmouth, N.H.
John Ruggles Strong, A.M., LL.B.	Cambridge, Mafs.
John Eliot Thayer, A.B.	South Lancaster, Mafs.
John Stringer Tilney	Orange, N. J.
William Wallace Tooker	Sag Harbor, N. Y.
William Blake Trask, A.M.	Boston, Mafs.
Mrs. Frances Batchelder Troup	Offwell House, Honiton, Eng.
Henry Hobart Vail, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.
Frank Mark Wethered	Auburn, Mafs.

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Joseph Cutler Whitney, A.B.	Milton, Mass.
Albert Rufus Whittier, Jr., A.B.	Milton, Mass.
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., A.M.	Boston, Mass.
George Gregerfon Wolkins	Boston, Mass.

LIBRARIES.

American Antiquarian Society	Worcester, Mafs.
Amherst College Library	Amherst, Mafs.
Bangor Public Library	Bangor, Me.
Biblioteca Nacional de México	Mexico, Mexico.
Bibliothèque Nationale	Paris, France.
Bodleian Library	Oxford, Eng.
Boston Athenæum	Boston, Mafs.
Bostonian Society	Boston, Mafs.
Bowdoin College Library	Brunswick, Me.
British Museum	London, Eng.
John Carter Brown Library	Providence, R.I.
Buffalo Library	Buffalo, N. Y.
Cambridge Public Library	Cambridge, Mafs.
Canton Public Library	Canton, Mafs.
Chicago Public Library	Chicago, Ill.
City Library Association	Springfield, Mafs.
Columbia College Library	New York, N. Y.
Concord Public Library	Concord, Mafs.
Congregational Library	Boston, Mafs.
Dartmouth College Library	Hanover, N. H.
Dedham Public Library	Dedham, Mafs.
Detroit Public Library	Detroit, Mich.
Essex Institute	Salem, Mafs.
Fitchburg Public Library	Fitchburg, Mafs.
Free Public Library	Worcester, Mafs.
Gale Free Library	Holden, Mafs.
Harvard College Library	Cambridge, Mafs.
Haverhill Public Library	Haverhill, Mafs.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania	Philadelphia, Pa.
Lancaster Public Library	Lancaster, Mafs.
Library of Brown University	Providence, R. I.
Library Company of Philadelphia	Philadelphia, Pa.

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Library of Cornell Univerfity	Ithaca, N. Y.
Library of the Northwestern Univerfity	Evanfton, Ill.
Library of Parliament	Ottawa, Canada.
Library of the State Department	Washington, D. C.
Library of the Univerfity of Kanfas	Lawrence, Kanfas.
Library of the Univerfity of Michigan	Ann Arbor, Mich.
Library of the Univerfity of Pennfyvania	Philadelphia, Pa.
Library of the Univerfity of Vermont	Burlington, Vt.
Long Ifland Hiftorical Society	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Maine Hiftorical Society	Portland, Me.
Manitoba Hiftorical and Scientific Society	Winnipeg, Canada.
Mark Skinner Library	Manchester, Vt.
Maryland Hiftorical Society	Baltimore, Md.
Maflachufetts Hiftorical Society	Bofton, Mafs.
Mercantile Library	New York, N. Y.
Milwaukee Public Library	Milwaukee, Wis.
Minnesota Hiftorical Society	St. Paul, Minn.
Nebraska State Hiftorical Society	Lincoln, Neb.
Newberry Library	Chicago, Ill.
Newburyport Public Library, Peabody Fund	Newburyport, Mafs.
New England Hiftoric Genealogical Society	Bofton, Mafs.
New Hampshire State Library	Concord, N. H.
New London Public Library	New London, Conn.
Newton Free Library	Newton, Mafs.
New York Hiftorical Society	New York, N. Y.
New York Public Library	New York, N. Y.
Omaha Public Library	Omaha, Neb.
Peabody Inftitute of the City of Baltimore	Baltimore, Md.
Pequot Library	Southport, Conn.
Pilgrim Society	Plymouth, Mafs.
Portfmouth Athenæum	Portfmouth, N. H.
Providence Public Library	Providence, R. I.
Public Library	Duluth, Minn.
Public Library of Cincinnati	Cincinnati, Ohio.
Public Library of the City of Bofton	Bofton, Mafs.

Public Library of Cleveland	Cleveland, Ohio.
Public Library of Toronto	Toronto, Canada.
Public Library of Victoria	Melbourne, Vic.
Quincy Historical Society	Quincy, Mafs.
Redwood Library	Newport, R. I.
San Francisco Free Public Library	San Francisco, Cal.
Somerville Public Library	Somerville, Mafs.
Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg	Hamburg, Germany.
State Historical Society of Wisconsin	Madison, Wis.
State Library of Massachusetts	Boston, Mafs.
State Library of Pennsylvania	Harrisburg, Pa.
State Library of Rhode Island	Providence, R. I.
Stockbridge Library Association	Stockbridge, Mafs.
Eben Dale Sutton Reference Library	Peabody, Mafs.
Taunton Public Library	Taunton, Mafs.
University of Chicago	Chicago, Ill.
University of the State of New York	Albany, N. Y.
Vassar College Library	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Williams College Library	Williamstown, Mafs.
Woburn Public Library	Woburn, Mafs.
Yale College Library	New Haven, Conn.



PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

NEW ENGLAND'S PROSPECT.

A true, lively and experimentall description of that part of *America*, commonly called Nevv England: discovering the State of that Countrie, both as it stands to our new-come *Engliſh* Planters; and to the old Native Inhabitants. By WILLIAM WOOD. London, 1634. Preface by Charles Deane, LL.D. pp. 131. Boſton, 1865.

THE HUTCHINSON PAPERS.

A Collection of Original Papers relative to the Hiſtory of the Colony of Maſſachuſetts-Bay. Reprinted from the edition of 1769. Edited by William H. Whitmore, A.M., and William S. Appleton, A.M. 2 vols. Vol. I. pp. 324. Vol. II. pp. 354. Albany, 1865.

JOHN DUNTON'S LETTERS FROM NEW ENGLAND.

Letters written from New England A.D. 1686. By John Dunton, in which are deſcribed his voyages by Sea, his travels on land, and the characters of his friends and acquaintances. Now firſt published from the Original Manuſcript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Edited by William H. Whitmore, A.M. pp. 340. Boſton, 1867.

THE ANDROS TRACTS.

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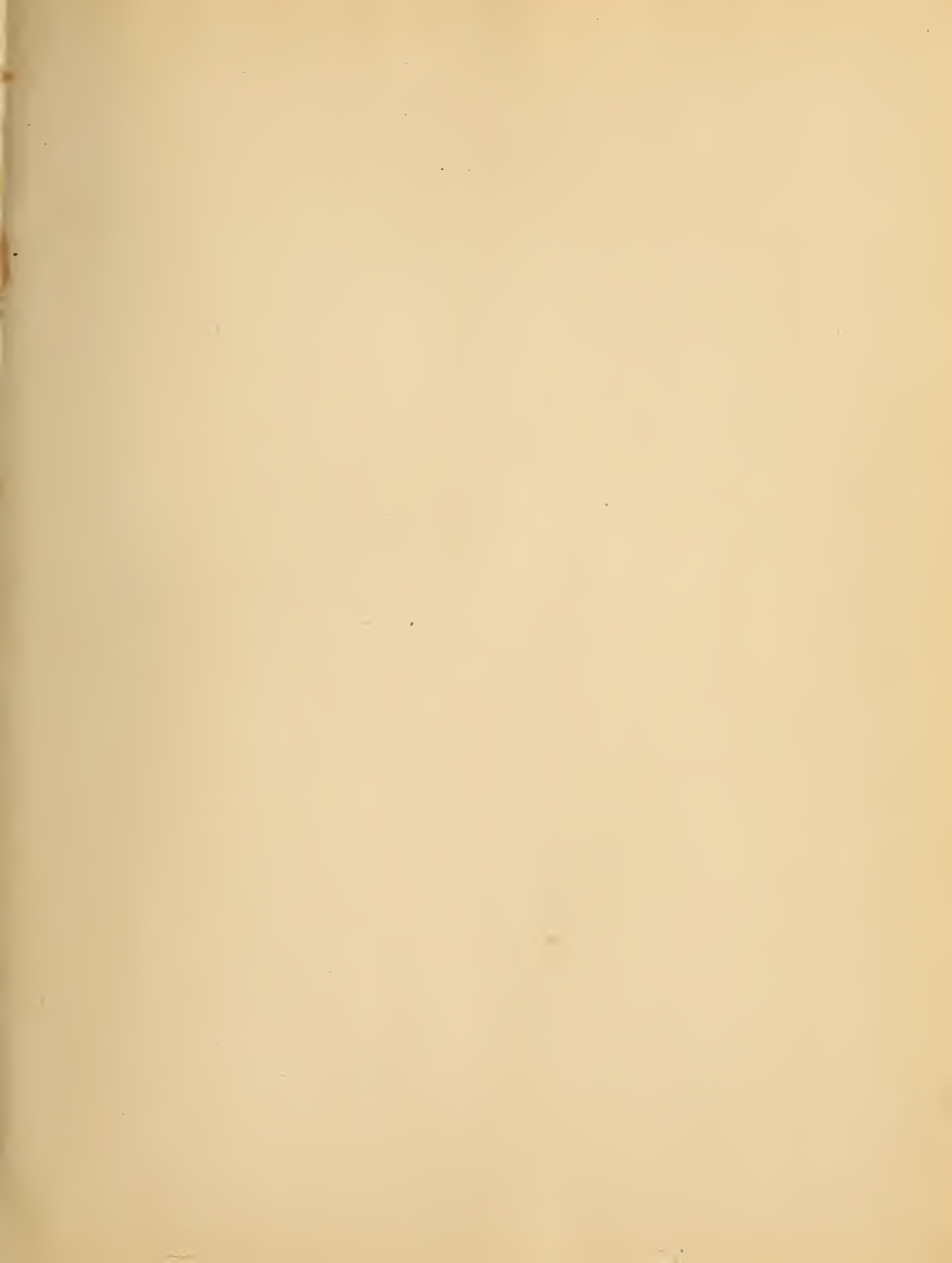
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